SUPPLEMENTAL TEXTS
TO THE SELECTED WORKS OF

MAO ZEDONG

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These works were taken from the JRPS translations, which are in the public domain.

Mao Zedong

EDITORIAL PREFACE

We recognize that it is troublesome to include many of these as they are translations by the Joint Publications Resource Services. This department was run by the United States government and produced translations of thousands of documents from socialist nations as a way to inform their own intelligence operations and build a substantial library.

We have decided to include them here for a few reasons. Firstly, very few Marxist-Leninist-Maoist people today can translate the works themselves and as such there is a level of practicality in using these. Secondly, the JPRS's goal was to produce accurate (if wooden) translations in their effort to build up a useful library for their counter-communist objectives. As a result, they were incentivized to be more accurate than distortionist. Thirdly, some of these were translated by other authors and a comparison shows some consistency (cf. Nick Knight's translation of Mao's "Dialectical Materialism" as an example). Fourthly, if used with caution, these can still provide us with some useful information and study materials, particularly among the more advanced and discerning cadres.

Therefore, we have chosen to create this collection. It is noteworthy that the JPRS produced translations of *hundreds* of Mao's works and did their best to specifically publish those that were not already included in the five-volume *Selected Works* series. These are available on Marxists.org, where one can find ten volumes of their translations of materials, much of them over the day-to-day running, organizing, and operations of the Communist Party and the Sino-Japanese War, and the Civil War. These translations include Mao's works from 1917 all the way to 1949 and are the most extensive published collection short of Stuart Schram's several volume series.

As such, we implore Marxists to continue their work and we must use these to the best of our ability. Now also with the dozens of volumes of the *Collected Works* available on BannedThought.net, there is no reason why Maoists who know Chinese and can organize together cannot begin producing (including with the usage of the JPRS

translations if they are found of further utility) more volumes of Mao's works in English. Nine is simply not enough, and we have been languishing in our duties to provide the masses with more literature from Comrade Mao, as well as from Maoist China as a whole. Red Justice Press is hoping to spark some further interest in this.

In this, we have additionally included other English translations of works that were published in various Communist outlets, but were forgotten about and not included in collections, such as a letter from Mao to William Z. Foster. We hope all of these will prove of interest!

Red Justice Press Editorial Team
22 August 2026

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Forewords to Two Rural Investigation Reports (1931) 1

Marriage Law (1 December 1931) 6

On the Question of Suppressing Internal Counterrevolution (15 March 1933) 10

Statement to *China Daily* on Kuomintang and Democracy (August 1937) 14

The Strategy of the Eighth Route Army: An Interview (25 October 1937) 16

Letter to Wen Yunchang (27 November 1937) 25

Dialectical Materialism (Lecture Outline) (1938) 27

The Great Significance of the December 9th Movement (9 December 1939) 67

Letter from Chairman Mao to Mao Anying and Mao Anqing (31 January 1941) 77

On Conducting Rural Surveys (13 September 1941) 79

Cable Message of Greetings… (21 February 1942) 86

Letter from Chairman Mao to Cai Bo and Four Other Youths (8 January 1946) 88

Excerpt from Closing Speech at the Second Session of the First National Committee of the CPPCC (1950) 89

Mao Zedong to William Z. Foster (17 January 1959) 90

Mao Speaks on World Affairs (21 February 1964) 92

A Letter from Comrade Mao Zedong to Comrade Lin Biao (7 May 1966) 95

Mao Zedong to Comrade Jiang Qing (8 July 1966) 97

Message of Greetings to the 5th Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania (November 1966) 102

Excerpts from Untranslated Works of Mao Zedong 105

SUPPLEMENTAL TEXTS TO THE SELECTED WORKS OF MAO ZEDONG

FOREWORDS TO TWO RURAL INVESTIGATION REPORTS (1931)

From *Red Flag* (Beijing) 1, no. 1 (January 1980): 2–3 trans. JPRS. Written on 26 January 1931 and 2 February 1931.

Foreword to the Investigation Report on Xingguo County

The Red Army's 1st Front Army returned to Jiangxi Province in September 1930 after attacking Changsha City. The 1st Front Army then broke through Jian and arrived in the Yuanshui River area in early October. Kingguo County sent many peasants to join the Red Army, and I took the opportunity to make an investigation report on Xingguo's No. 10 District, that is, the Yongfend District. I invited Fu Jiting, Li Changying, Wen Fengzhang, Chen Zhenshan, Zhong Dewu, Huang Dachun, Lu Beiping and Lei Hanxiang to attend the investigation meetings. The investigations started in late October, and the meetings were held in Luofang of Xinyu County. The investigation meetings lasted an entire week.

Located at the juncture of Xingguo, Ganxian and Wanan counties, Yongfeng District is divided into four townships: The first township is the former Lingyuan Ward; the second is Dongliang Ward; the third is Shankeng Ward; and the fourth is Jiangtuan Ward. Yongfengyu, in the second township, is the political and economic center of Yongfeng District. Yongfeng District's population is: 3,000 in the first village, 800 in the second, 3,000 in the third, and 2,000 in the fourth, totaling 8,800. Since this district is located at the juncture of Xingguo, Ganxian and Wanan counties, understanding the situation here will provide us with a fairly clear picture of Ganxian and Wanan counties and of the land reform struggle throughout southern Jiangxi.

In formulating a practical policy it is necessary to act in accordance with the actual conditions. What we think of behind closed doors and what we learn from a sloppily written report are definitely not the actual conditions. It is dangerous to decide on a policy in accordance with "assumptions" or on the basis of unrealistic reports.

The party leadership's failure to act according to the actual conditions is the reason many mistakes were previously committed in the Red zones. Therefore, it is very necessary to conduct a thoroughgoing, practical, scientific investigation. Generally speaking, my investigation is still not penetrating enough, but it is still better than those I conducted in the past.

First, eight families were investigated, which is something I had never done before. If such an investigation is not conducted, one will not really obtain a fundamental concept of the rural areas. Second, investigations were made on the manifestation of different classes in the land reform struggle, which I once carried out, but only incompletely, during my previous investigation in Xunwu County. The shortcomings of that investigation find expression in our failure to investigate the status of children and women, to investigate trading conditions and compare them with commodity prices, to investigate the conditions of agricultural production following the completion of land distribution, and to investigate the cultural conditions as a whole. All this should have been investigated, but since the enemy began to attack Luofang and the Red Army decided to lure the enemy's troops in deep, we had no choice but to end our investigation meetings.

The following materials were obtained by raising one question after another on the investigation program I put forward and then engaging in discussions. All the conclusions I put forward were first agreed on by the eight comrades and then put in the records. With regard to some questions, conclusions were not drawn, but their answers only described. Our investigation meetings were vivid and interesting. We held two or three sessions each day, and sometimes meetings lasted late into the evening, but we never tired.

I would like to express sincere thanks to these comrades, some of whom are party members but most of whom are not.

Xiaobu of Ningdu.
26 January 1931.

Foreword to the Investigation Report on Xunwu County

Compared with my previous investigations, this is the largest in scale. I have previously conducted systematic investigations on Xiangtan, Xiangxiang, Hengshan, Liling, Changsha, Yongxin and Ninggang. The investigations on the five localities of Hunan were conducted during the great revolutionary period (January 1927), whereas the two on Yongxin and Ninggang were made during the Jinggangshan period (November 1927). Kept by my wife Yang Kaihui, the investigation reports on the five Hunan localities were most likely lost after she was killed. The two other reports on Yongxian and Ninggang, which were in the hands of a friend who lived in the Jinggang area, were also destroyed when the Red Army left the Jinggang Mountains in January 1929 when under attack by Jiang Gui's troops.

I would not be concerned if I had lost any other things, but I constantly think about having lost these investigation reports (especially the two reports on Hengshan and Yongxin), and I shall never forget them. The investigation report on Xunwu was made in May 1930 when the 4th Army arrived in Xunwu County, that is, following the conclusion of the Botou conference (the joint conference called by the Frontline Committee of the 4th Army and the Special Committee of West Jiangxi on 7 February) and before the opening of the Tingzhou conference (the joint conference called by the Frontline Committee of the 4th Army and the Special Committee of West Fujian in June). Aside from lacking a complete understanding of the questions concerning rich peasants in China, I was at that time completely a layman as far as the commercial situation was concerned. It was for this reason that I conducted this investigation with strenuous efforts.

The person who helped me organize this investigation throughout the entire period of work was Comrade Gu Pai, party secretary of Xunwu County (a native of Huang District, middle school student and bankrupt small landlord who once served as a primary school teacher, member of the county-level revolutionary committee and chairman of the county soviet). Four persons who provided me

with large amounts of materials were: Kuo Yumei (a 59-year-old native grocery store owner who once served as head of the county's chamber of commerce); Fan Daming (a 51-year-old poor peasant, employee of the county soviet and native of the suburban area); Zhao Jingqing (a 30-year-old middle peasant from Shuangqiao District who worked as a blacksmith and small merchant and was promoted from common soldier to platoon leader under the command of Chen Jiongming and is now a member of the county's soviet committee); and Liu Lingfan (a 27-year-old employee of the county's revenue office and concurrently in charge of procurement and a native of the suburban area who is now chairman of the suburban soviet). They always attended the investigation meetings.

I also received some materials from Li Dashun (a 28-year-old poor peasant who once served as a member of the district soviet) and Liu Maozai (a 50-year-old candidate for the lowest degree under the former civil service examination system who declined from a small landlord to a poor person, once owned a gambling establishment and engaged in small business and served as a member of the county revolutionary committee and who is now a member of the district soviet). They attended our investigation meetings occasionally.

Others who attended our investigation meetings once or twice were: Liu Xingwu (a 46-year-old peasant who once engaged in small business and was a native of the suburban area and a member of the village soviet); Zhong Buying (a 23-year-old student of the teachers training school in Mei County, chairman of the district government and a native of Shipaixia); Chen Zhuoyun (a 39-year-old graduate of the Zizhi Research Institute who was a seamstress and primary school teacher and engaged in small business); and Guo Jingru (a 62-year-old native of the suburban area who once passed the imperial examination at the county level and worked as a primary school teacher). They occasionally attended the investigation meetings to provide us with information.

The 11 people mentioned above and I conducted the investigation meetings. I acted as the chairman and kept the records. Our meetings lasted some 10 days. Thanks to the mass mobilization

work launched by the various units of the Red Army in Anyuan, Xunwu and Pingyuan, we had enough time to hold our investigation meetings.

Since Xunwu County is located at the juncture of Fujian, Guangdong and Jiangsi, knowing the situation of this county will provide us with a fairly clear picture of all other counties at the juncture of these three provinces.

There is a major shortcoming in this investigation, which, in fact, was conducted without analyzing the middle peasants, farm laborers and hooligans. Another short coming is that we did not treat separately the land owned by rich peasants, middle peasants and poor peasants when dealing with the "distribution of the original land."

Xiaobu of Ningdu
2 February 1931

MARRIAGE LAW
(1 December 1931)

From: JPRS *Collected Works*, hosted on *Marxists.org*.

[Editors' Note: This legislation was signed by Mao Zedong and two others on the Central Executive Committee of the Chinese Soviet Republic.]

1. General Provisions

Article 1. Marriage shall be based on the free choice of partners. The feudal marriage system which is based on arbitrary and compulsory arrangements and the exaction of money or gifts shall be abolished. Child betrothal shall be prohibited.

Article 2. Monogamy shall be put into effect. Polygamy shall be prohibited.

2. Marriage

Article 3. Before a marriage can be contracted the man must have reached 20 years of age and the woman 18 years of age.

Article 4. Marriage shall be based on the complete willingness of the two parties. Neither party, nor a third party, shall use compulsion.

Article 5. Marriage between collateral relatives by blood, up to the fifth degree of relationship, shall be prohibited.

Article 6. Marriage shall not be allowed where one party is suffering from dangerous and infectious diseases as venereal disease, leprosy, and tuberculosis. If a doctor gives his approval upon examination of the abovementioned diseases, the marriage shall be allowed.

Article 7. No man or woman who is suffering from mental disorder or paralysis shall be allowed to marry.

Article 8. In order to contract a marriage, both the man and woman shall register in person with the Soviet of a hsiang or municipality and obtain a marriage certificate. Betrothal money or gifts and dowry shall be done away with.

3. Divorce

Article 9. Freedom of divorce shall be affirmed. Divorce shall be granted when husband and wife both desire it. When only one party insists on divorce, it shal1 also be granted.

Article 10. Husband and wife desiring to divorce shall register with the Soviet of a hsiang or municipality.

4. Bringing Up Children After Divorce

Article 11. The father shall be responsible for all children born prior to the divorce and have the duty to bring them up. If both parents are willing to bring up the children, the mother is given custody of the children.

Article 12. The mother shall have custody of a baby still being breast-fed.

Article 13. Arable land allocated to the child or children shall be retained by the child or children.

Article 14. If the mother is given custody of a child, the father shall be responsible for two-thirds of the necessary cost of maintaining the child until the age of 16. Payment may be made in cash or by tilling the land allocated to the child.

Article 15. If the woman remarries and her husband is willing to assume the cost of maintaining the child by her former husband, the father of the child may be exempted from the duty to support the child.

Article 16. The new husband who is willing to support the child shall register with the Soviet of a township or municipality. Once he registers, he shall be responsible for maintaining the child until the maturity of age, and not stop halfway or maltreat the child.

5. Settlement of Property After Divorce

Article 17. In case of divorce, the husband or wife may dispose such arable land, property, and debts as belong to him or her. When the marriage had lasted more than a year, the property jointly acquired by husband and wife shall be divided equally. If there are children, such property shall be divided equally according to the number of persons.

Article 18. After divorce, debts incurred by husband and wife during the period of their living together shall be paid off by the husband.

Article 19. After divorce, if both parties are unwilling to leave their home, the husband shall sell his share of the house to the wife so that she can go on living there.

Article 20. After divorce, if the wife has not remarried, the husband shall bear the cost of her maintenance or till the land for her until she remarries.

6. Maintenance of Children Born Out of Wedlock

Article 21. Where the paternity of a child born out of wedlock is established, the identified father shall bear two-thirds of the cost of maintaining the child. Articles 11 to 15 of Chapter IV shall also apply.

7. Supplementary Provisions

Article 22. Persons violating this Law shall be punished in accordance with the law.

Article 23. This law shall come into force from the date of its promulgation.

ON THE QUESTION OF SUPPRESSING INTERNAL COUNTERREVOLUTION (15 March 1933)

From: JPRS *Collected Works*, hosted on *Marxists.org*.

Chairman Mao Zedong
Vice-Chairmen Hsiang Yung, Chang Kuo-tao

15 March 1933

At a time when the imperialist KMT warlords have carried out four encirclement campaigns against the soviet areas throughout the country and are now carrying out a large-scale attack against the Central Soviet area, and when the struggle between revolution and counterrevolution has arrived at the point of life-and-death struggle, the enemy is not only applying military force but is also organizing counterrevolutionary activities in the soviet areas in a planned way, using the landlords, rich peasants and merchants in the soviet areas to organize all sorts of counterrevolutionary groups (the AB Group, the Social Democratic Party, the Trotskyite Party and feudal superstitious groups like the I-hsin Hui and Lan-tzu Hui), deceiving a minority of backward masses, seizing opportunities to stir up trouble, and at the same time sending scouts to penetrate the Soviet areas to ferret out military intelligence. On the basis of recently discovered facts, such as the people who shouted counterrevolutionary slogans at the mass meeting in T'ing-chou and the smashing and capture of a KMT county party branch organ in T'ing-chou, the discovery of similar reactionary posters in the three localities of Jui-chin, T'ing-chou and Ho'tien, the secreting away of four rifles in the household of the Shih-ch'eng propaganda department chief, the organization by the enemy of anti-revolutionary activities in Nan-kuang county which hindered all mass work and wartime mobilization work, the plans of traitorous merchants in the Hui-ch'ang area to carry on activities to subvert the soviet currency, the planned money conversion by traitorous merchants in Jui-chin and T'ing-chou, the manipulation of commodity

prices everywhere by traitorous merchants, along with large-scale transfer of cash, and even the discovery of counterrevolutionary subversive actions in certain of the local armed organizations, all of these recently discovered facts prove clearly that the enemy is organizing counterrevolution in the soviet areas, and politically and economically and in all ways he is carrying out pernicious plans to destroy the Soviet and the revolution.

But our soviet governments in all areas are completely lacking in vigilance and still are paying insufficient attention to this grave counterrevolutionary activity, and are even permitting it. The central government is now gravely calling it to the attention of governments and their organs for suppressing counterrevolutionaries at all levels that this past attitude of paying no attention to and permitting counterrevolutionary activities is totally impermissible, all governments and their organs for purging counterrevolutionaries must immediately rectify these errors and must immediately take steps to deal with counterrevolution in accordance with the actual situation in their localities. In the districts and townships and in particular in all the cities, whenever lurking counterrevolutionary elements or their activities are encountered, resolute and rapid measures must be taken to repress them severely, and when the situation is pressing they must proclaim a temporary state of martial law and the soviet governments and all revolutionary organs must institute an armed and mass-style defense. In order to sternly put down counterrevolution, important counterrevolutionary elements must rapidly and unhesitatingly be apprehended and punished and the nature of their crimes must be broadly propagandized among the local masses. Governments in all localities and at all levels and especially the urban and district and township governments, must propagandize the fact of the coordination of counterrevolution activities within the soviet areas with the White armies outside, and mobilize all the revolutionary masses to carry out the most stringent oversight and surveillance over merchants, rich peasants and landlord elements and to seek in all quarters for clues of counterrevolutionary. organization and activity. The soviet government organs for suppressing counterrevolution must set up

close relationships with the labor unions, agricultural laborers' associations, poor peasant associations and other revolutionary groups, because only if the broad masses under the leadership of the government set to work enthusiastically can counterrevolutionary organizations and activities be thoroughly extirpated. The judicial departments in all counties in the border areas must quickly deal with all criminals already apprehended; and all elements whose crimes have been clearly proven, starting with the alien class elements among them, must immediately be put to death. The death sentences need not be carried out according to Article 26 of the Judicial Department's Temporary Regulations on Organization and Judicial Activities, which requires permission from the higher levels; the death sentences may be carried out first and the cases reported to superiors afterward. As to the central districts, accumulated cases must also be quickly dispatched and must not be allowed to pile up again, nor must there be any delay of the speedy suppression of counterrevolutionaries. In the central areas, in times of particular distress death sentences may also be carried out and the superior authorities informed afterwards. This is a measure which it is necessary for us to take while the enemy are carrying out large-scale attacks, and it cannot be regularly adopted in ordinary times.

Landlords and rich peasants in areas under attack by the enemy and border areas must be dealt with separately. When they have actually engaged in counterrevolutionary activities, they must immediately be apprehended and severely punished, and not given leeway for the slightest bit of activity. As to the other landlord and rich peasant elements about which nothing counterrevolutionary has been discovered, the government in the locale must stir up the masses to keep strict surveillance on their activities. They should not all be apprehended, except if they exercise an unwholesome influence or if it makes dealing with them later more difficult. The central government confidently believes that in this attack of internal and external counterrevolution on the revolution, we possess the conditions to entirely smash them and win an all-round victory. We have the broad masses of the people and the powerful Red Army, we

have strong and consolidated government organs and we must use these powerful government organs (central and local) to lead the millions of worker-peasant masses and the Red Army to strike mortal blows against our internal and external enemies. We have the precious experience of the past purges of counterrevolutionaries and we must use these experiences to subject counterrevolutionary elements within the soviet areas to stern repression and thorough extirpation. Governments at all levels upon receiving this directive must immediately and in the light of the concrete situation in their locality decide upon the methods of implementing it, and must report on methods of implementation through channels. It is so ordered.

STATEMENT TO *CHINA DAILY* ON KUOMINTANG AND DEMOCRACY (August 1937)

From: Quoted in Lawrence Hearn, "The Sino-Japanese War and the American People," *The Communist* 16, no. 9 (September 1937): 833–34.

The Third Plenary Session of the Kuomintang, owing to its inclusion of pro-Japanese and vacillating elements, did not make a clear-cut and thorough change of Kuomintang policy and failed to solve the various problems concretely. Yet on account of the mass pressure and its own internal change, the Kuomintang began to correct its erroneous policies of the past ten years dictatorship and non-resistance. From these past policies the Kuomintang is turning toward peace, democracy and resistance and is beginning to accept the policy of the anti-Japanese national united front demanded urgently by us and by the people of the whole country, as was also noted in its Third Plenary Session. The problem hereafter remains: whether or not the Kuomintang will make a thorough change. The achievement of our goal, therefore, requires a bigger and bigger development of the anti-Japanese and democratic movements by us and by the people of the whole country. The Kuomintang must be further criticized, encouraged and promoted. Its elements who are for peace, democracy and resistance must be consolidated, its vacillating and hesitating elements must be led toward courage and firmness and its pro-Japanese elements must be repulsed.

The present stage, from the Third Plenary Session to the realization of war of resistance of a national scope against Japan, is the second stage of the new era of the Chinese revolution. Both the first and second stages are transitory periods to carry China over to such a war of resistance. If the main task of the first stage meant the acquisition of the first prerequisite for the establishment of the anti-Japanese national united front, then the winning of democracy in the second stage will mean the acquisition of the second prerequisite for the same purpose. The building of a real and strong anti-Japanese

united front for the general goal of anti-Japanism and national salvation will be impossible without both internal peace and democracy. So to win democracy is one of the central purposes of the revolutionary task at the present developing stage. We cannot build a strong and real anti-Japanese national united front, bring about a war of resistance national in scope against Japan and carry it through to complete success so as to defend China and to recover the lost territory if, failing to see the importance of the task of establishing democracy, we strive less energetically to win democracy.

Under the slogan, “For a Democratic Republic,” China should immediately begin with the following democratic reforms on two fronts. On the one hand the aristocratic dictatorship of one party and one class should be displaced by a democratic form of government representing the cooperation of all parties and classes. The Election and Organization Laws of the People’s Congress that are contrary to democratic practices must be displaced by real democratic election. The free assembly of the Congress must be guaranteed~ Then a real democratic constitution must be worked out, a real democratic congress convoked, and a real democratic government elected to carry out real democratic policies. In this alone can internal peace be consolidated, internal opposition removed and internal unification strengthened to facilitate preparation by a united nation for resisting the external aggressors.

THE STRATEGY OF THE EIGHTH ROUTE ARMY: AN INERVIEW (25 October 1937)

From: James Bertram, *The New Masses* 26, no. 7 (8 February 1938)

YENANFU, NORTH SHENSI.

JAMES BERTRAM. *Since the war began, considerable interest has been taken in the former Red Armies, now reorganized as the Eighth Route Army. Can you tell me something about the Eighth Route Army, its present situation, strategy, political work, etc.?*

MAO ZEDONG. Since the Red Army was reorganized into the Eighth Route Army and left for the front, many people have been eager to know what it is doing. I will tell you something about the general position.

Strategically, the Eighth Route Army is fighting with Shansi as its center. As you know, we have already scored a number of successes against the Japanese. There were the battles at Pinghsinkwan. We reoccupied Tsingpin, Pinglu, and Ningwu. We captured Leiyuan and Kwanglin, and occupied Tsechingkwan. We cut the Japanese communications on three main lines between Tatung and Y entnenkwan, between Weihsien and Pinghsinkwan, and between Shihsien and Ningwu. We attacked the Japanese rear south of Yenmenkwan, and twice in succession recaptured Pinghsinkwan and Yenmenkwan. More recently, we may list the capture of Chihyang and Tanghsien in Hopei, and a number of other engagements.

Thus the Japanese troops which invaded Shansi are strategically surrounded on all four sides by the Eighth Route Army and other Chinese forces. It is clear that the Japanese armies in North China must henceforth meet with much stronger resistance.

On the question of strategy and tactics, we may say in general that the Eighth Route Army undertakes actions that cannot be carried out by any other Chinese troops. We fight on the flanks and in the rear of the enemy. Such a style of fighting is altogether different from that

of a simple, frontal defense. We do not question the· need for the use of one part of a defending force in such direct frontal fighting; of course this is necessary. But our main forces are used on the enemy's wings, carrying out flanking and encircling movements, attacking the enemy independently and on our own initiative.

Only by such tactics can we preserve our own forces and destroy those of the enemy in detached units. Moreover, forces operating at the rear of the enemy are especially dangerous, because they can destroy enemy bases and lines of communication. Even those armies which meet the enemy in direct frontal warfare should not adopt a strategy of simple defense, but should make the fullest possible use of counter-attack.

One of the chief reasons for the reverses suffered by Chinese troops in recent months has been the use of mistaken strategy and tactics; the style of fighting followed by the Eighth Route Army may be defined as "mobile guerrilla warfare of independent initiative." Fundamentally, it is similar to our method of fighting in the past civil wars, though there are also a number of differences.

On the general military situation at this stage of the war, we may make one observation. The situation is less favorable than it was for the heavy concentration and centralization of Chinese forces; and more favorable for the division of our forces into mobile units. This is necessary, because now that the war covers so wide a territory, we must make as many sudden attacks as possible on the flank and rear of the extended enemy. The total number of men in all the Chinese armies is very great. Except for the use of one part of these troops to. defend the main fronts, and the scattering of another part of them for guerrilla warfare, the main body should regularly be employed in attacks on the enemy's flanks.

The first principle in any war is to preserve your own forces, and liquidate the forces of the enemy. To achieve this end at the present time, we should make use of a mobile warfare of independent initiative, combined with partisan tactics. Every kind of immobile, passive, mechanical fighting should be abandoned. If a sufficient number of the Chinese armies wage such a war, and the Eighth Route

Army helps them with guerrilla fighting, then victory may be in our hands. The Eighth Route Army has one very important and significant feature—its political work.

There are three fundamental principles underlying the political work of the Eighth Route Army.

First, unity of the officers and soldiers. This implies the liquidation of any remaining traces of feudalism, the abolition of the old "flogging and cursing system," the establishment of conscious discipline, and the realization of a manner of life in the army where by all share together both bitter and sweet. In this way, our army has achieved a unique degree of solidarity.

Second, unity of the army and the people. This is an unfailing principle with our army. We must keep the closest possible relation with the common people, and never in any way violate their interests.[1] Then the people will support us, work with us, take messages, keep military secrets. Cooperation with the people is an important factor in our military success. Moreover, we must carry on propaganda work: organize and arm the people; we must lighten the economic burden of the masses, and suppress severely those traitors who are endangering the armies and the people. Thus the army and the people can work together; and everywhere our army is welcomed by the people as their friend.

The Eighth Route Army gets new recruits, not by compulsory draft, but by agitation among and political organization of the people. This method is much more effective.

Third, propaganda among the enemy armies, and special treatment of prisoners of war. For this work, victory does not depend entirely upon the fighting quality of our armies; it depends also on the deterioration of the armies of the enemy. Though this effect is perhaps not yet significant, in the future it will assume ever greater proportions. The Japanese, we may note, are always especially

[1] Note from Bertram: In one speech at the Military Academy at Yenan, I heard Mao make this point even more vividly: "You must never take so much as one piece of potato from the peasants," he said to the assembled soldiers, "for if you take one piece, you cannot help taking more."—J. B.

apprehensive about the Eighth Route Army. Recently the Japanese North China command issued a manifesto, in which the Eighth Route Army was designated a "menace to the imperial armies." The Japanese claimed that we want to "bolshevize" North China, to unite with Outer Mongolia and the Soviet Union, even to "bolshevize" Japan itself. Hence, they said, special measures would be taken to combat the Eighth Route Army, including the use of heavy artillery, airplanes, and poison gas. All this was necessary to combat the "terrible Eighth Route Army."

But we are not afraid of the threats of the Japanese army command. Though Hopei, Chahar, Suiyuan, and part of Shansi have already been lost, we do not despair. We resolutely rally our army for the defense of Shansi and the regaining of lost territories. The Eighth Route Army will act unitedly with the other Chinese armies, and resolutely maintain the resistance in Shansi. This factor is very important for the whole war, especially the war in North China.

JAMES BERTRAM. *Can the style and strategy of the Eighth Route Army be adopted by other Chinese armies?*

MAO ZEDONG. Though the Eighth Route Army has the special features outlined above, which make it particularly dangerous for the Japanese, still it cannot play the decisive role in the anti-Japanese. war. Numerically, it is limited; and at present the Kuomintang armies are still playing the decisive role in the Chinese resistance. But there is no reason why the good points of the Eighth Route Army should not be adopted by the other Chinese group armies. The Kuomintang troops originally had a spirit similar to that of the present Eighth Route Army. That was in 1925–27. At that time, the Communist Party helped the Kuomintang organize the national armies on a new scale. In the beginning, only two regiments were reorganized. But soon many other troops were united around these two regiments, and gained their first victories over Chen Chung-ming.

Later this force was enlarged into an army, and still more troops came under its influence. The northern expedition followed,

and at that time there was a new spirit in the troops. A close relationship was established between officers and soldiers, the troops and the people, and the army was filled with a courageous revolutionary spirit. Party representatives and political departments were established among the troops—a system which had never before been realized in the history of the Chinese armies. The Red Army after 1927, and the present Eighth Route Army, have continued this system, and developed it considerably.

In the period of the Great Revolution the war tactics and strategy of the new troops matched their political spirit. This was not a passive and mechanical strategy, but positive, active, and offensive. Because of this, victories were gained in the northern expedition.

The present anti-Japanese war needs a similar kind of army. It is not necessary to have several million troops such as these; a few hundred thousand could guarantee success against Japanese imperialism.

We have the greatest admiration for the heroism and sacrifice of the Chinese armies since the present war began; but we must learn our lesson from the sanguinary fighting that has already occurred. Especially do we expect the Central Armies, with their heroic war record and glorious history, to now assume a leading role in the reformation of the other troops. The reorganization and reformation of the militia and government forces in Spain can be our example here.

JAMES BERTRAM. *What is the policy of the Eighth-Route Army toward prisoners of war, and how does it differ from to policy of other Chinese armies?*

MAO ZEDONG. Our policy toward prisoners of war is essentially the same as the one we followed in the Red Armies during the last ten years of fighting. Prisoners are disarmed, but are not insulted or ill-treated in any way. We explain to them the common interests of the peoples of China and Japan, and then release them.

Of course, we make a certain distinction between soldiers and officers, and between officers of lower and higher rank. Common

soldiers, those from the oppressed classes, and especially those Mongols and Tungpei (northeastern) peoples who are compelled by Japanese imperialists to fight against us, we greet as friends and comrades. Any who, with us, oppose Japanese imperialism are welcome into our ranks; those who do not want to stay with us are released and permitted to return to their armies. Officers are treated in the same way, but those higher officers who have directed the war against us and helped to form the present policy of Japanese militarism, we keep with us in China for a while, so that they may have time to understand and appreciate their errors. Then, if they recognize their own mistakes, we release them, too.

JAMES BERTRAM. *But in view of the discipline and traditions of the Japanese army, is this policy likely to achieve any results? Released prisoners will be killed by their commanders if they return to their regiments, and the Japanese army as a whole will not understand the purpose of your policy.*

MAO ZEDONG. The more released prisoners the Japanese kill, the more the sympathy of the Japanese soldiers toward the Chinese troops is roused. The mass of the rank and file cannot be deceived like this. We have already followed our announced policy with those prisoners captured in the recent fighting in Shansi, and we will continue with it.

The Japanese army command has declared openly that they will use poison gas against the Eighth Route Army. Even if they do so, we shall not change our policy toward prisoners of war. We have already proposed to the Kuomintang that a similar policy be followed by other Chinese armies. It is one way of making clear the real enemy that we are fighting Japanese imperialism, and not the Japanese people.

We have no quarrel with the Japanese people, with members of the oppressed colonial peoples, even though they are sent to fight against us. These people are our friends; and those who do not wish to return to their troops can always join for service with the Eighth Route Army. If in the future an international column should appear on the

field of the anti-Japanese war, they can join this column, taking up arms to fight against Japanese imperialism.

JAMES BERTRAM. *Have you any preparation for defense against gas attack?*

MAO ZEDONG. Because of material difficulties, at present we are unprepared against gas. But we are asking for help in this direction from Generalissimo Chiang. Commander-in-Chief Chu Teh has already prepared a declaration in reply to the open statement made by the Japanese headquarters in North China of the Japanese intention of using gas against us. Commander Chu will point out that this cruel action of the Japanese fascists will only hasten their own destruction.

JAMES BERTRAM. *While the war continues unabated, the Japanese have recently put out in Shanghai some talk of peace and settlement. What is the real purpose of all this?*

MAO ZEDONG. After they have achieved a certain part of their program, the Japanese imperialists will once more make use of this "peace" camouflage. There are three main ideas behind it. First, it helps them to consolidate the position they have already gained, so that it can be used as the base and strategical starting point for a second attack. Second, they hope to split the Chinese anti-Japanese front. And third, they hope to disrupt the world front for the support of China against Japanese aggression that has been slowly forming.

The present peace talk is only the beginning of this camouflage. The real danger is that certain wavering elements in China are already prepared to walk into Japan's trap; and traitors are acting as go-betweens, spreading all kinds of rumors in the hope of subjugating China to the Japanese robbers.

JAMES BERTRAM. *But do you think there is a serious danger of Chinese capitulation?*

MAO ZEDONG. There are the two possibilities, either we shall overcome the capitulationist, and the danger will disappear, or else the capitulationist may gain power and create a state of chaos in China, splitting the anti-Japanese front.

The great majority of the Chinese people want to fight to the end. If part of the upper strata of society takes the road of capitulation, then all the resolute elements in the country will oppose them strenuously, and continue the war of resistance together with the mass of the people. A split of this sort would be most unfortunate for the united front. But I think that the capitulationists will not be able to gain a following, and that they must finally be overcome by the force of the masses. The war of resistance will be insisted on, and the struggle for final victory.

It would seem that Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek has already noticed this point. In his interview of October 9, replying to President Roosevelt's declaration, he insisted on a policy of continuing the war to the end. "Even if only one man and one rifle remain," he said, "we will continue the war." The Communist Party decisively supports this policy of the generalissimo, and will oppose to the last all wavering and capitulationist elements. The slogan of the Communist Party is "To shed the last drop of blood in support of the fatherland!" The spirit of Generalissimo Chiang's interview is quite in accord with our slogan.

JAMES BERTRAM. *How do you hope to overcome the "capitulationistsis?"*

MAO ZEDONG. We must organize public opinion, and point out the real danger of capitulationism. In action, we must organize the masses of the people to check the capitulationist movement. Capitulationism has its origin in national defeatism, or national pessimism, which is the view that after defeat in the war, China will have no force left with which to fight Japan. But, "success is born of failure." The profound lessons gained from defeat will be the foundation of the victory of the future. The pessimists have seen only the defeats in the war so far, not

such successes as have been gained. Above all, the pessimists do not see the elements of victory contained in the defeats, and the elements of defeat contained in the victories of the enemy.

We must point out to the masses of the people the victorious future of the war, and make it clear that defeats and difficulties are only temporary. If only we continue the struggle without relaxing our efforts, the final victory will be ours. And when capitulationism is deprived of its mass foundation, there will be no opportunity for its advocates to play their trick of subjugation; and the anti-Japanese front will be consolidated and strengthened.

October 25, 1937.

LETTER TO WEN YUNCHANG
(27 November 1937)

From: *Red Flag* (Beijing) 1, no. 1 (January 1981): 14–15, trans. JRPS.

Cousin Yunchang

Mo Liben (a young comrade who arrived in Yanan from Changsha in November 1937) has arrived and brought your personal letter to me. Today I also received the detailed instruction of 16 November, with which I am greatly pleased.

I am deeply grieved over the passing away of your eighth uncle and eighth aunt. It is a pleasure to know that all the other cousins and their wives are in good health. Distressful family circumstances are not unique to just some families or individuals, for this is true for the majority of people throughout the country. Our only way out is to struggle together to drive out Japanese imperialism. believe that your work is quite satisfactory. We have just enough clothes to wear and food to eat here, and all are treated the same, from the commander in chief at the top down to the mess cooks at the bottom. Because our party has devoted itself to serving the country, the nation and the laboring masses at the expense of personal interests, everyone is treated equally and receives no pay. If your family burdens are too heavy, it will be best for you to obtain some relief by finding a job elsewhere. Therefore, it is not suitable for you to come here. The journey is very long, and I also cannot send any traveling money to you. It is a good idea to establish a military school in Hunan, but the plan is difficult to carry out. Although personally I would like to help you, my cousin, it is in reality difficult to do so. The organization had sent 20 yuan for traveling expenses to Zhou Runfang not too long ago because she is the wife of martyr Ze Tan (Ze Tan was killed 2 years ago). This is how it was handled by the organization, and not because of my personal reasons. I respectfully ask for your forgiveness. I am endeavoring to serve society, and this includes the extremely respected

and beloved family of my mother and all the poor people in my native village. Although I think very fondly of every cousin and nephew from my mother's family as well as all the poor people in my native village, this is the only way I can be of use to help all of you. Perhaps all of you have already understood this.

Even though this is the current situation, I still would like to communicate frequently with you and other cousins and nephews, for even a few words from you all will give me some satisfaction.

Do you know anything about the situation in Shaoshan? Please notify my relatives in the countryside at your convenience that I would be very glad to communicate with them if they are willing to do so. However, please tell them not to look for jobs here, because there is no pay here.

How is Mr. Liu Linsheng?[2] Please extend my regards to him if you write to him.

An all-out attack is being launched by Japanese imperialism, and our work is very tense. But we are very happy and healthy. Our health is much better than 2 years ago, and please relay this message to all the cousins and their wives and children in Tangjiatuo. You may tell them that the victory won by the 8th Route Army is also their victory so as to console everybody's difficulties and hardships.

I respectfully wish you and your wife good health!

Mao Zedong
27 November

[2] Editors: This man was from the same town as Mao's cousin.

DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM (LECTURE OUTLINE) (1938)

From: JPRS *Collected Works* on *Marxists.org*

[Editors' Note: It is important to acknowledge that this is not a communist translation of Mao's works and inevitably is inaccurate on various fronts. However, with that in mind the JPRS was conducting these for internal understanding and had a vested interest in not (knowingly) distorting their translations. As such, we advise using this with caution. Volume 6 of the *Selected Works* contained a truncated version of this text. A full translation was also made by Nick Knight and is available on *BannedThought.net* which can be helpful for comparison.]

Chapter 1 Idealism and Materialism

This chapter discusses the following problems:

(1) Two opposing camps of philosophy
(2) Distinction between idealism and materialism
(3) Origin and development of idealism
(4) Origin and development of materialism

1. Two Opposing Camps of Philosophy

The entire history of philosophy is the history of struggle and development of idealism and materialism, the two opposing schools of philosophy. All philosophical thoughts and factions are variations of these two basic schools.

All philosophical theories are created by people belonging to a definite social class. The consciousness of these people is historically determined by a definite social life. All philosophical theories express the need of a definite social class and reflect the level of development of social productive force and the historical stage of

man's knowledge of nature. The fate of a philosophy is determined by the degree it satisfies the need of society.

The social origin of idealism and materialism lies in the social structure of class contradictions. The original idealism was the product of ignorance of the primitive barbarian man. Later, as productive forces developed, scientific knowledge also developed. Consequently, idealism should have declined and been replaced by materialism. However, from antiquity to modern times, idealism has not declined. On the contrary, it has developed further and become a close rival of materialism. The reason is that society is divided into classes. On the one hand, the oppressing class cannot but develop and consolidate its idealism for its own interest. On the other hand, the oppressed class, similarly, cannot but develop and consolidate its materialism for its own interest. Both idealism and materialism exist as tools of class struggle, and the war between the two schools of philosophy will continue until the elimination of classes. In its process of development, idealism represents the ideology of the exploiting class and has a reactionary function. Materialism is the world outlook of the revolutionary class. In class society, materialism grows and develops continuously in its struggle against the reactionary philosophy—idealism. For this reason the struggle between idealism and materialism always reflects the struggle between the interest of the reactionary class and that of the revolutionary class. No matter whether a philosopher is conscious of it or not, his philosophic inclination is always influenced by the political orientation of the class to which he belongs. Any inclination in philosophy always directly or indirectly supports the basic political interest of the class the philosopher belongs. In this sense, the implementation of a certain philosophical inclination is a special form of the policy of the class the philosopher belongs.

The special characteristic of the Marxist philosophy, dialectical materialism, is to explain clearly the class attributes of all social consciousness (including philosophy). It openly declares its proletarian nature, wages a resolute struggle against idealism of the capitalist class, and subordinates its function to the general task of

overthrowing the capitalist institution, establishing proletarian dictatorship, and building socialism. In the present stage in China, the mission of philosophy is subordinated to the general task of overthrowing imperialism and semi-feudalism, thoroughly implementing the democracy of the bourgeois class, establishing a brand new Chinese Democratic Republic, and preparing to transform the present society to a socialist and Communist society with peaceful means. Philosophical theories and political practices should be closely related.

2. Distinction between Idealism and Materialism

Where is the basic difference between idealism and materialism? It lies in the opposite answers given by the two schools in regard to the basic problem of philosophy, that is, the problem of the relationship between spirit and matter (the problem of the relationship between consciousness and existence). Idealism considers spirit (consciousness, concept, and subject) as the origin of everything in the world and matter (natural or social object) as subordinate to spirit. Materialism holds that matter exists independent of spirit, while spirit is only subordinate to matter. From the opposite answers to this basic problem, diversified opinions arise on all other problems.

From the viewpoint of idealism, the world is probably a synthesis of our different kinds of senses, or it is the spiritual process created by our or worldly rationality. The external material world is viewed as an illusion, or an external shell of spiritual elements. Human knowledge is viewed as subjective and a product of spirit.

Conversely, materialism holds that the unity of universe lies in its material property. Spirit (consciousness) is one of the properties of matter. It occurs only when matter develops to a definite stage. Nature, matter and the objective world exist outside of spirit and independent of spirit. Human knowledge is a reflection of the objective world.

3. Origin of Idealism and Its Development

Idealism considers that matter is a product of spirit. It turns the real world upside down. What is the origin of this philosophy, and where is the source of its development?

As of mentioned before, idealism occurred as a product of the ignorance of primitive man, but after the development of production the primary condition that enabled idealism to become a philosophical thought was the separation of physical and mental labor. As a result of the development of social productivity, division of labor occurred in society. Further development of division of labor produced people who devoted themselves exclusively to mental labor. At a time when social productivity was relatively low, the separation physical and mental labor was not complete. But after the emergence of classes and private property, when exploitation became the foundation for the existence of the dominating class, great changes began. Mental labor became a special privilege of the dominating class, while physical labor became the fate of the oppressed class. The dominating class began to examine their own relationship with the oppressed class in a topsy-turvy way. They thought that it was not the laborers who provided them with materials for living. Instead, they thought, it was they who provided the laborers with materials for living. For this reason, they despised physical labor and generated the viewpoints of idealism. Eliminating the distinction between physical and material labor is one of the conditions for eliminating the philosophy of idealism.

The social origin which enabled the philosophy of idealism to develop is mainly the fact that this philosophy consciously expresses the interest of the exploiting class. The superiority of the idealist philosophy in all cultural realms should be explained by this fact. If the exploiting class did not exist, idealism would lose its social origin. The final extinction of the philosophy of idealism will come only after the elimination of classes and the establishment of a Communist society.

We must look for the origin that accounts for the development and intensification of idealism and its ability to become a rival of materialism in the process of man's knowledge. When man uses concept in thinking, there is a possibility for him to slip into idealism. When man thinks, he cannot but use concepts. This will apt to make our knowledge split into two aspects. In one aspect are the individual and special things and events. In another aspect are the concepts of a general nature (such as this judgment: "Yenan is a city"). The specific and the general are originally related and inseparable. When they are detached, they are separated from the objective truth. The objective truth demonstrates the consistency between the general and the specific. Without the specific, the general does not exist.

Without the general, there can be no specific. If we separate the general from the specific, then the general is considered the objective body and the specific is considered only a form of general existence. This is the method used by all idealists. They use consciousness, spirit, and concept to replace the objective substance which exists independent of man's consciousness. With this as a starting point, the idealists stress the dynamic nature of human consciousness in social practice. They are unable to point out the truth of materialism that consciousness is limited by matter. Instead, they say that only consciousness is dynamic, while matter is nothing but a collective body of immobile things. Driven by class motivations, the idealists use all methods to exaggerate the dynamism of consciousness and develop it one-sidedly to such an extent that it is infinitely expanded in the mind to become a dominating thing. Matter is covered up and made subordinate to consciousness. They affirm this artificially expanded thing as the general outlook of the universe, and even worship it as an idol or demigod. Idealist economics excessively exaggerate the immaterial side of exchange, and elevates the status of the principle of supply and demand to that of the fundamental law of capitalism. Many people saw the dynamic function of science in social life, but did not know that this function is ruled and limited by a definite social production relationship. They therefore came to the conclusion that science is the motive force of society. Idealist

historians regard heroes as the creators of history. Idealist politicians consider politics as an omnipotent thing. Idealist militarists practice the principle of fighting-to-the-death in war. Idealist revolutionaries advocate Blanquism. All these are exaggerations of subjective dynamism. Our thinking cannot reflect the object all at once as a whole. It is only an infinite, colorful, vivid and dialectic process of knowing things close to their reality. Based on this characteristic of human thinking, the idealists exaggerate certain individual aspects of this process. Unable to correctly reflect this process, they distort it. Lenin said: "Human knowledge is not developed along a straight line, but along a curve. Any section of this curve can become an isolated and integral section of straight line. This section of straight line can possibly lead you to confusion. Linearity and one-sidedness are 'not seeing the forest for the trees'; obstinacy, subjectivism, and subjective blindness—all these are the origins of idealist epistemology." "Idealism one-sidedly exaggerates one fragment or one aspect of the process of cognizance into a mysterious absolute thing divorced from matter and divorced from nature. It is correct to say that idealism is religious dogma."

Pre-Marxist materialism. (mechanical materialism) did not emphasize the dynamism of thinking in cognizance. It only gave thinking a passive function, and regarded thinking as a mirror to reflect nature. Mechanical materialism took a violent attitude toward idealism without paying attention to the origin of idealist epistemology. Therefore, mechanical materialism could not prevail over idealism. Only dialectical materialism correctly points out the dynamic nature of thinking and, at the same time, points out that thinking is limited by matter. It points out that thinking occurs in the process of social practice and also dynamically directs practice. Only this type of dialectical theory of "unity between knowledge and practice" can thoroughly prevail over idealism.

Recognition of the existence of external matter independent of consciousness is the foundation of materialism. This foundation is acquired by man through practice, the practice of labor and production. The practice of class struggle and the practice of scientific experimentation enabled man to depart from superstition and fantasy (idealism), to gradually recognize the nature of the world, and to reach materialism.

Primitive man, who could only use simple tools and yielded to the force of nature, was unable to explain the changes surrounding him. Therefore, he asked help from the spirit. This is the origin of religion and idealism.

In the long processes of production, man came in contact with nature surrounding him, acted on nature, changed nature, and secured things for clothing, food and shelter in order to make nature more suited to the interest of man. This convinced man that matter does objectively exist.

In social life, relationships and influence occur between one man and another. In class society, class struggle went on. The oppressed class weighed the situation, estimated their strength and made plans. When their struggle succeeded, they firmly believed that their opinion was not a product of imagination, but a reflection of the material world which objectively exists. When the oppressed class failed in their struggle because of the adoption of wrong plans, and when they succeeded in their struggle after changing their plans, they began to understand that they could reach their goal only if their subjective plans were based on a correct knowledge of the material property and rules of the objective world.

The history of science proved to man the material property and regularity of the world, and made him realize the uselessness of the fantasy of religion and idealism, and finally accept the conclusion of materialism.

In As short, in the long history of practice—the history of human struggle against nature, the history of class struggle, and the

history of science—man, for the necessity of living and struggle, thought about the reality of material and its rules, proved the correctness of the philosophy of materialism, and found the ideological tool for his own struggle—the philosophy of materialism. social production developed to a higher and higher degree, class struggle became more and more developed; scientific knowledge further exposed the "secrets" of nature, the philosophy of materialism became more and more developed and consolidated; gradually became able to liberate himself from the dual oppression of nature and society. When it was necessary for the bourgeois class to struggle against the feudal class and before the proletariat had become a threat, the bourgeoisie also found and used materialism as a tool in their own struggle, and believed at one time that the things and events surrounding them were products of matter rather than products of spirit. Not until they themselves became rulers and the struggle of the proletariat threatened their position did they give up this "useless" tool, and pick up another tool—the philosophy of idealism.

The proletarian class, the grave diggers for capitalism, is materialist by nature. But, due to the fact that the proletarian class is the most advanced class in history, the materialism of the proletarian class is different from the materialism of the capitalist class. The former is more thorough and more profound, characterized only by dialectics and not by mechanism. The proletarian class absorbed the fruits of all practices in human history and, through their practice and their spokesmen and leaders—Marx and Engels—created dialectical materialism. It maintains not only that matter exists independent of and separated from human consciousness, but also that matter is changing. It thus becomes a completely systematic and totally new world outlook and methodology. This is the philosophy of Marxism.

Chapter 2: Dialectical Materialism

This chapter discusses the following problems:

(1) Dialectical materialism as a weapon of proletarian revolution
(2) Relationship between the heritage of old philosophy and dialectical materialism
(3) Consistency of outlook of the universe and methodology in dialectical materialism
(4) The problem of the object in philosophy
(5) Theory of matter
(6) Theory of movement
(7) Theory of time and space
(8) Theory of consciousness
(9) Theory of reflection
(10) Theory of truth
(11) Theory of practice

The following is a brief discussion of our viewpoints on these problems.

1. Dialectical Materialism as a Weapon of Proletarian Revolution

This problem has already been discussed in Chapter I. We shall talk about it briefly again.

Dialectical materialism represents the universal view of the proletarian class. The proletarian class uses dialectical materialism as its spiritual weapon in its struggle and as its philosophical basis for its various opinions. Only when we view the world from the proletarian standpoint can we correctly and completely grasp dialectical materialism. Only when we start from this viewpoint can the real

world be truly and objectively known. This is due to, in one respect, the fact that the proletarian class is the most advanced and most revolutionary class; and in another respect, the fact that dialectical materialism is the most correct and most revolutionary outlook of the universe and methodology in which a highly precise scientific characteristic is closely associated with a thorough and uncompromising revolutionary characteristic.

The proletarian class in China has now shouldered the historical responsibility of carrying the democratic revolution of the bourgeois class. It must adopt dialectical materialism as its spiritual weapon. If dialectical materialism is accepted by the proletarian class, the Communist Party, and all revolutionary elements who are willing to take a stand on the side of the vast proletarian class, they will have the most correct and the most revolutionary universal view and methodology, and they will be able to correctly understand the development and changes of the revolutionary movement correctly, propose correct revolutionary tasks, unite with their allies, defeat reactionary theories, take correct actions, avoid mistakes in their work, and reach the goal of liberating and rebuilding China. Dialectical materialism is especially a required subject of study for those cadres who direct revolutionary movements because subjectivism and mechanism, the two erroneous theories and working methods, often lead cadres into wrong actions in violation of Marxism, and into wrong ways in revolutionary movements. In order to avoid and to correct this shortcoming, it is necessary for cadres to study dialectical materialism self-consciously, and rearm their minds.

2. Relationship between the Heritage of the Old Philosophy and Dialectical Materialism

Modern materialism is not a simple successor to the various old schools of philosophy. It was born and developed in the struggle against the dominant philosophy of the past and in the struggle of freeing science from idealism and myth. The Marxist philosophy, dialectical materialism, has not only inherited the best product of

idealism, the fruits of Hegelian philosophy, but also overcome the idealism of that school of philosophy and materialistically transformed Hegel's dialectics. Marxism is not only the continuation and consummation of all the past development of materialism, but also an opponent of the narrowness of all the old schools of materialism, that is, the mechanical and intuitive materialism (mainly French materialism and Feuerbach materialism). Marxist philosophy, dialectical materialism, took over the scientific heritage of the past culture and at the same time gave it a revolutionary transformation to become the most correct, the most revolutionary, and the most complete philosophical science unprecedented in history.

After the 4 May 1919 Movement, as the proletarian class of China consciously walked onto the political stage, and as the nation's scientific standard continued to rise, a Marxist philosophy movement developed. However, during the initial stage of China's materialist movement our understanding about dialectics was inadequate. As a result, the capitalist mechanical materialism and the Deborin school's subjectivism predominated. When the revolution of 1927 failed, our understanding of Marxism-Leninism improved, and materialist dialectic thinking gradually developed. Recently, due to the seriousness of national and social crises and due to the purge of philosophy in the Soviet Union, a broad movement of dialectical materialism began among the thinkers in China.

Due to the backwardness of Chinese society, the current dialectical materialism thinking in China is not a continuation or transformation of China's own philosophical heritage. It came, rather, from learning Marxism-Leninism. In order that dialectical materialism will take root and advance in China and will definitely guide the Chinese revolution toward an ultimate triumph, it is necessary to struggle against all existing obsolete philosophy, to raise a banner of criticism on the ideological front all over the country, and thereby to liquidate the philosophical heritage of ancient China.

3. Consistency of the Outlook of the Universe And Methodology in Dialectical Materialism

Dialectical materialism is the proletarian outlook of the universe, and at the same time it is also the method used by the proletarian class to know the surrounding world as well as the method for revolutionary action. It is a unity of the outlook of the universe and methodology. The idealist Marxist revisionists think that the substance of dialectical materialism lies in its "method." They sever method from the general philosophical outlook of the universe, and sever dialectics from materialism. They don't understand Marxist methodology—dialectics—which is not like Hegelian idealist dialectics, but materialist dialectics. Marxist methodology can never be separated from Marxist outlook of the universe. On the other hand, mechanical materialism not only views Marxist philosophy as a general philosophical outlook of the universe without its dialectics, but also regards this kind of outlook as the conclusion of mechanical natural science. They do not understand that Marxist materialism is not simple materialism, but dialectical materialism. These two separated views of Marxist philosophy are wrong. Dialectical materialism is a unity of outlook of the universe and methodology.

4. The Problem of the Object of Dialectical Materialism: What does Materialist Dialectics Study?

Lenin considered materialist dialectics (as a Marxist philosophy) as a study of the laws of development of the objective world, as well as a study of the laws of development of cognizance (which reflects the objective world through various categories in dialectics). He said that logic is not an external formal study of thinking; it is rather a study concerning the law of development of all material, natural and spiritual things. In other words, logic is the total, summation, and conclusion of human knowledge about the world. Although Lenin emphasized the significance of materialist dialectics as a general scientific methodology, he did this because dialectics is the conclusion

drawn from the history of our cognizance about the world. Hence he said: "Dialectics is the history of cognizance."

The above is Lenin's definition of materialist dialectics as a science and its objectives. What he means is as follows: First, just as any other science, materialist dialectics has its object of study. The object is the most general laws of development of nature, history, and human thinking. The task of materialist dialectics is not to think from our head the relationship between various phenomena, but to observe the relationship between the various phenomena from the phenomena themselves. This viewpoint of Lenin's is basically different from that of the members of the minority faction of the idealists who regard category (divorced in fact from specific science or specific knowledge) as the object of study of materialist dialectics. This is because of the fact that the members of the minority faction of idealists attempt to establish a philosophical system of categories isolated from the development of human knowledge about the reality of epistemology, history, social science and natural science. By so doing, they have in fact abandoned materialist dialectics. Second, the various branches of science (mathematics, mechanics, chemistry, physics, biology, economics and other natural sciences and social sciences) are for the study of the various aspects of the material world and its development. Therefore, the principles of the various sciences are narrowly limited by each specific realm of study. But materialist dialectics is not so. It summarizes, draws conclusions about, processes and generalizes all the valuable contents of all specific branches of science and other scientific knowledge of mankind. Thus, the concepts, judgments, and principles of materialist dialectics are extremely broad (including the most general laws of all sciences, and hence including the substance of the material world). In this respect, it is an outlook of the universe. On the other hand, materialist dialectics is the foundation of true scientific logic and epistemology liberated from all empty thinking, clericalism, and metaphysics. Therefore, it is also the only realistic objective methodology for the study of specific sciences. It is further clear why we say that materialist dialectics or dialectical materialism is the unity of the

outlook of the universe and methodology. So the mistakes of those who distort and vulgarize Marxism and deny Marxism as a philosophy can be understood.

Concerning the problem of the object of philosophy, Marx, Engels and Lenin all opposed separating philosophy from reality or making philosophy something independent of substance. They pointed out the inevitability of philosophy growing out of actual life and based upon the analysis of actual life and actual relationships. They specially opposed using logical concepts and logic as the objects of study as practiced by the formalists and members of the minority faction of the idealists. Marx, Engels, and Lenin all interpreted materialist dialectics as a theory concerning development. Engels regarded materialist dialectics as "a theory discussing the general principle of development of nature, society and thinking." Lenin considered materialist dialectics as "the most multi-faceted, the richest and the most profound theory of development." They all considered "the formulas of all principles of development offered by other schools of philosophy as narrow, without substance, and severed from the process of development of nature and society." (Quotation from Lenin) The reason by materialist dialectics is called the most multi-faceted, the richest, and the most profound theory of development is nothing but that it reflects the contradictions and the leaping nature in the process of natural and social changes in the most multifaceted, the richest and the most profound way.

There is another problem to be resolved about the object of philosophy; that is, the consistency between dialectics and logic.

Lenin emphatically pointed out the identity among dialectics, logic, and epistemology, saying that this is "an extremely important problem." He said: "These three terms are superfluous. They indicated only one thing." He was fundamentally opposed to those Marxist revisionists who treat these three theories as entirely independent of one another.

Materialist dialectics is the only scientific epistemology, and the only scientific logic. It deals with the growth of our cognizance of the external world and the development of such cognizance; the

transformation from not knowing to knowing and from not completely knowing to completely knowing; and reflection of the laws of development of nature and society which deepens, enhances daily in the mind of mankind. This is the unity between materialist dialectics and epistemology. Materialist dialectics studies the most general laws of development of the objective world, and reflections of the most developed form of the objective world in our mind. This is how materialist dialectics studies the process of development of realistic things, and the laws of occurrence, disappearance and mutual transformation of phenomena. At the same time, it also studies the phenomena of the human mind which reflects the laws of development of the objective world. This is the unity of materialist dialectics and logic.

In order to understand the relationship between dialectics, logic, and epistemology thoroughly, we shall examine in the following how dialectics resolves the problem of mutual relationship between logic and history.

Engels said: "As far as the method of thinking of all schools of philosophy is concerned, the advantage of Hegel's method is its extremely rich sense of history. Although Hegel's form is abstract and idealistic, the development of his thinking parallels the development of world history. Moreover, history is in fact a verification of our thinking. History often proceeds rapidly in a complex manner. Because of this, if we obey history, we must not only pay attention to a lot of unimportant material, but also interrupt our train of thought. This is the only suitable method and this is the logical method. This logical method is still fundamentally the historical method except for the elimination of the form of history and its accidental characteristic." This viewpoint of "unity of logical development and historical development" was given full attention by Marx, Engels, and Lenin. "The category of logic is the simplification of the innumerable characteristics of external existence and activities." Category is a separated segment which helps us to know the links of different networks. "The activity of human practice is a repeated application of human consciousness to various formulas of logic. Then, these

formulas acquire the significance of an axiom. It takes thousands and millions times of repeated practice for a theoretical formula to be stabilized in human consciousness. All these formulas have some perpetual prejudice because they are the results of thousands and millions times of practice before they take on the characteristics of axioms." The above sayings of Lenin point out the fact that the characteristics of materialist dialectical logic are not the same as those of formal logic, which looks upon principles and categories as empty things existing independently from contents and unrelated to contents. Materialist dialectical logic is also different from Hegelian logic. Unlike Hegelian logic which regarded category as concepts isolated from and independent of the material world, materialist dialectical logic treats concepts as manifestations of material movements reflected and transplanted to our mind, and then processed by our brain. Holding the view of unity between existence and thinking, Hegel treated the unity among dialectics, logic and epistemology in the same way as unity in idealism. On the contrary, in Marxist philosophy, the unity of dialectics, logic and epistemology is built on the foundation of materialism. Only if materialism is used to resolve the problem of the relationship between existence and thinking, and only if the viewpoint of the reflection theory is taken, can the problem of dialectics, logic, and epistemology be thoroughly resolved.

The best model of using dialectical materialism to resolve the problem of the mutual relationships between logical things and historical things is Karl Marx's "Capital." It discusses the historical development of capitalist society, and at the same time discusses the logical development of that society. What "Capital" analyzes is the dialectics of the development of various economic categories reflected by the growth, development, and extinction of capitalist society. The materialist solution of this problem is based upon using the materialist objective history as the foundation, and using concept and category as the reflection of this realistic history. The unity of logic and history of capitalism and the unity of logic and epistemology of capitalist society are illustriously expressed in "Capital." From "Capital," we can

understand a little bit about the unity among dialectics, logic and epistemology.

The above concerns the problem of the object of dialectical materialism.

5. Theory of Matter

Marxism took over and developed the line of materialism in philosophy. It correctly resolved the problem of the relationship between thinking and existence; that is, it thoroughly and materialistically pointed out the materialistic character of the world, the objective existence of matter, and the fact that matter is the origin of consciousness (or the reliance of consciousness on existence).

The acceptance of matter being the origin of consciousness is based on the premises of the materialistic character of the world and its objective existence. The first condition for one to belong to the camp of materialism is his acceptance of the existence of the materialistic world independent of man's consciousness—that is, the world existed before the appearance of mankind, and it existed after the appearance of mankind. Acceptance of this point is the basic premises for any scientific study.

How can we prove this point? There are many proofs. Man is in contact with the external world at all the times, and must use cruel ways to deal with the oppression and resistance of the external world (nature and society). Man can and should overcome these oppressions and resistance. The human social practice demonstrated in the historical development of human society is the best proof. China does not doubt the objective existence of Japanese imperialism which invaded China, nor the objective existence of the Chinese people. The students of the Anti-Japanese Military and Political University also never doubted the objective existence of the university and the students themselves. These things are all material things which exist independent of and separate from our consciousness. All these are the basic viewpoints of materialism, or the philosophy of materialism.

The materialistic viewpoint in philosophy is different from the materialistic viewpoint in natural science. If we say materialistic viewpoint in philosophy is to point out the objective existence of matter, and that the so-called matter is the entire world which is separated from man's consciousness and exists independently (this world acts upon man's senses to cause man's feelings and to cause man to have reflection from feelings), then this statement is absolute, and will never change. The materialistic viewpoint in natural science concerns the study of the structure of matter, such as the former atomic theory and the current electronic theory. Such statements change with the advance of science and are relative.

To use dialectical materialism to distinguish the materialistic viewpoint in philosophy and that in natural science is a necessary condition for the implementation of the materialistic viewpoint in philosophy. This point has a great significance in the struggle with idealism and mechanical materialism.

On the bases of the theory of electrons, the materialists smashed the absurd theory about the extinction of matter. Those who held this absurd view did not know that the advancement of scientific knowledge concerning the structure of matter is sufficient proof of the correctness of the theory of matter in dialectical materialism. As a result of modern discoveries in natural science and the discovery of electron theory, it has been proven that certain material attributes exhibited in old material concepts (such as weight, hardness, impenetrability, inertia, etc.) exist only in certain material forms, and do not exist in other material forms. This fact breaks down the narrowness and one-sidedness of the old materialist view toward matter, and proves the correctness of dialectical materialism which accepts the materialistic characteristics and the objective existence of matter. The materialist view of dialectical materialism sees the unity of the material world from its multiple characteristics, i.e., the unity of matter's multiple characteristics. This type of concept of matter does not contradict at all the perpetual movement or change from one from to another. Ether, electrons, atoms, molecules, crystalline cells, social phenomena, mental phenomena, etc., represent various stages

of development of matter. They are temporary states in the history of the development of matter. Scientific studies bring about profound discoveries of all kinds of material states (the discovery of the multiple characteristics of matter), and these discoveries only enrich the contents of the concept of matter of dialectical materialism. How can there be any contradictions? It is necessary to make a distinction between the concept of matter in philosophy and that in natural science, because the former is broad and the latter narrow, but they are not contradictory. broad concept of matter includes the narrow concept of matter.

The concept of matter of dialectical materialism does not recognize any nonmaterial things in the world (independent and spiritual things). Matter exists permanently and universally in time and space. If we say that there is in this world a thing which "has always been so," or which "is so everywhere" (as far as its consistency is concerned), then that thing is the so-called objectively existing matter in philosophy. When consciousness is viewed from thorough materialism (that is from the viewpoint of materialist dialectics), it is nothing but a state of matter, a form of material movement, a special characteristic of the material brain, and that kind of special characteristic of the material brain reflected from matter outside of consciousness to consciousness. Thus, our distinction between matter and consciousness, and our setting up the two opposing each other are conditional. That is to say, the distinction is meaningful only in epistemology because consciousness or thought is only an attribute of matter (brain). Therefore, the opposition between cognizance and existence doesn't go beyond this. This type of opposition between the subject and the object has no meaning beyond the realm of epistemology. If cognizance is set up opposing matter outside the realm of epistemology, we are revolting against materialism. In this world there is only matter and its various manifestations. The subject itself is also matter. This is what is meant by the material attributes of the world (matter is perpetual and universal), the objective reality of matter, and matter is the origin of consciousness. In short, matter is

everything in the world. We say "all belongs to Ssu-ma I," and "all belongs to matter." This is the principle of unity of the world.

The above is the concept of matter in dialectical materialism.

6. Theory of Motion (Theory of Development)

The first basic principle of dialectical materialism is its acceptance of the material nature of the world, the objective reality of matter, and matter being the origin of consciousness. This unity theory of the world has been discussed in the aforementioned theory of matter.

The second basic principle of dialectical materialism is its theory of motion (or the theory of development). It acknowledges that motion is the form of material existence, i.e., the inner attributes of matter. Motion is an expression of the multiple attributes of matter. This is the theory of development of the world. A combination of the development theory of the world and the aforementioned unity theory of the world forms the entire outlook of the universe of dialectical materialism. The world is nothing but an infinite development of the material world (or the material world is developing without limit).

The concept of motion of dialectical materialism will not permit (1) mental motion separated from matter, (2) mental matter separated from motion, or (3) simplification of material motion. The concept of motion is established after a resolute struggle with idealistic, metaphysical and mechanical viewpoints.

First of all, the theory of motion of dialectical materialism is opposed to idealism in philosophy and theism in religion. The basic characteristic of all idealism and theism is their denial of the material unity of the world. They imagine that the motion and development of the entire world are without matter, or there is no matter at the very beginning. It is, rather, the result of spiritual action or the power of God. The German idealist philosopher Hegel believed that the actual world was developed from the so-called "concept of the world." In China, believers of Chou I and Li Hsueh of the Sung and Ming Dynasties all expressed idealistic concepts of the development of the universe. The Christians say that God created the world. Buddhists

and fetishists in China ascribe the development of everything in the universe to spiritual power. All these views separating human thinking from matter are incompatible with dialectical materialism. Not only idealists and clergymen, but all the materialists before Marx, and all the current anti-Marxist mechanical materialists maintain materialistic theory of motion when they talk about natural science. But when they talk about social phenomena, they no longer adhere to materialistic principles, and ascribe everything to spiritual reasons.

Dialectical materialism resolutely refutes all these erroneous concepts of motion, points out their limitations—the limitations of their class status and the limitation of scientific development, and builds its own concept of motion thoroughly on materialism from the standpoint of the proletarian class and based on the most developed scientific standard. First of all, the dialectic materialists points out that motion is the form of existence of matter, and is an inner characteristic of matter (not due to external force). It is just as impossible to imagine motion without matter as to imagine matter without motion. They set up a materialistic concept of motion sharply opposed to the idealist or theist concepts of motion.

If we observe matter isolated from motion, it will be a metaphysical theory of a stationary universe, or the theory of absolute equilibrium. Those who subscribe to this theory maintain that matter is unchanging, and that there is no such thing as development in matter. They believe that an absolute standstill is the general state of matter, or the primitive state of matter. Dialectical materialism firmly opposes this point of view. It believes that motion is the most common form of material existence, and an inner and inseparable attribute of matter. All static and equilibrium states have only relative meaning, while motion is absolute. Dialectical materialism acknowledges that all material may have the possibility of being in a stationary state or a state of equilibrium. It also believes that this is the most important condition for distinguishing matter and, therefore, is also the most important condition for distinguishing life. (Engels) However, dialectical materialism believes that being in a stationary state or in a state of equilibrium is only one of the elements of motion, or a kind of

special condition of motion. The mistake of observing matter without reference to motion lies in the exaggeration of the elements of standstill or equilibrium. These elements are wrongly used to cover up or to substitute for the entirety. A special condition of motion is generalized to become absolute. An ancient Chinese metaphysical thinker had a favorite saying: "Heaven does not change; reason does not change." His theory is one of stationary universe. Although the followers of this saying acknowledge the changes in universe and social phenomena, they deny these changes as changes of matter itself. In their eyes, the substance of the universe and society is forever unchanging. The main reason for their thinking is their class limitation. If the feudal landlord class acknowledges that the substance of the universe and society is moving and developing, it would be like theoretically declaring their own death sentence. The philosophy of all reactionary forces is always a motion-less philosophy. In view of the principle of development of the world, the revolutionary class and the people advocated for the transformation of this society and world. Their philosophy is dialectical materialism.

Moreover, dialectical materialism does not accept simplification of the concept of motion, or reduce all motion to one form—the form of mechanical motion. This is the characteristic of the old materialistic concept of motion. The old materialism (French materialism of the 17th and 18th century and the German Feuerbach materialism of the 19th century) accepted the permanent existence and permanent movement (unlimited movement) of matter, but it was confined to a metaphysical outlook of the universe. Not only that their social viewpoint reflected a viewpoint of idealist development, even in natural science they ascribed the unity of material world to a certain one-sided characteristic, or to one form of motion—mechanical motion. The cause of this type of motion is external force. It is a motion like that of a machine which is pushed by an external force. They do not explain matter of motion from internal causes and the multiple nature of relationships. They explain motion simply from external form they have discovered, or from external reasons. In this way, the multiple characteristics of the world are lost. They explain all

motions in the world as a change in location and a decrease or increase in quantity. Motion is described as a phenomenon of matter being at one location during a certain moment of time and at another location during another moment. If there is a change, it is only a change in numerical increase or decrease. There is no change in characteristics and all changes are cyclical and will repeatedly produce the same result. Dialectical materialism is at odds with this. It considers motion not as simple displacement or cyclical motion. But as infinite varieties of matter. Motion is looked upon as transformation of matter from one form to another, the unification and motion of matter in the world. Engels said: "All high-level forms of motion are inevitably associated with the form of mechanical (external or molecular) motion. For example, if there is no change in heat or electricity, chemical reactions will be impossible. If there is no mechanical (molecular), heat, electrical and chemical changes, organic life will be impossible. This, of course, cannot be denied. But if there exists some form of low-level motion, they cannot include the substance of major forms of motion under various conditions." These words are absolutely in conformity with reality. Even if we consider only the simple mechanical motions, we cannot explain them from the metaphysical viewpoint. We should know that all forms of motion are dialectical, even though their dialectical contents and their multi-faceted nature may be greatly different. Thus, mechanical motion is still dialectic motion. When we say that a body "is" at a certain location at a certain moment, that body is, in fact, "at" a certain location, and yet, at the same time, "not at" that certain location at that particular moment. The so-called "being" at a certain location and the so-called "immobile" state are but special situations of motion. The body is in fact in motion. Matter moves within a limited time and within a limited space. Matter is continuously overcoming the limitations in order to go out of fixed time and space to become an unceasing flow of motion. Mechanical motion is only one form of motion of matter. In the actual world, it does not exist absolutely independent, and it is always related to other forms of motion. From heat, chemical reaction, light, and electricity to organic and social phenomena, all of them are special forms of

motion. At the turn of the 20th century, the greatest achievement of natural science was the discovery of the principle of motion transfer. It pointed out that the motion of matter is always transforming from one form to another. After transformation, the new form and the old form are substantially different. The reason for material transfer is internal and not external. The transfer is not caused by external mechanical drive, but by the struggle within the matter itself between two mutually contradictory elements of different nature. Due to the discovery of this law of motion transfer, dialectical materialism is able to expand the theory of material unity in the world to the history of nature and science. The world is observed not only as a matter in perpetual motion, but also as matter advancing from a lower form of motion to a higher form of motion. The world is thus observed as a development as well as a process. In other words, "the unity of the material world is a process of development." In this way, the cyclical theory of old materialism is destroyed. Dialectical materialism observes the form of motion of nature and society in a profound way and in its numerous aspects. It considers that the process of development of the world as an entity is perpetual (with no beginning and no end), but at the same time the form of the specific motion in each historical process is temporary (with a beginning and an end). This is to say that it occurs under a definite condition and disappears under a definite condition. It believes that the process of development of the world from a lower form of motion to a higher form of motion demonstrates both its historical and temporary characteristics. But at the same time, no one form of motion is in a perpetual long stream (a long stream with no beginning and no end). Based on the principle of opposition and struggle (the reason for motion), the form of each motion always moves to a higher level. It moves straight forward, but as far as each individual form of motion is concerned (or as far as each specific process of development is concerned), the motion may change its direction, or may be backward. When the advancing motion is combined with the retreating motion, the resulting motion is a complex helical motion. The new form of motion occurs as an opposite to the old form of motion, but at the same time the new form

of motion preserves many elements of the old form of motion. The new things grows out of the old. New forms, new characteristics and new attributes emerge from the disruption of continuity, or from a break-through, but the link and the mutual relationship between things and events cannot be absolutely destroyed. Finally, dialectical materialism believes that the world has no end. This is so not only in its entity, but also in its parts. Are not electrons and atoms the same in demonstrating a complex and endless world?

The basic form of motion of matter also determines the various subjects of natural and social sciences. Dialectical materialism observes the development of the world as a forward motion from an inorganic through an organic to the highest form of matter (society). The relationship arising from this form of motion becomes the foundation of the corresponding sciences (inorganic science, organic science, and social science). Engels said: "The various kinds of science analyzes a special form of motion or the mutual relationship of a series of forms of motion. Thus classification of science is to arrange and classify various motions according to the original order of motion. Only on this point can classification be meaningful."

The entire world includes human society and the motions of matter in various forms. Therefore, we cannot forget the various forms of motion of matter. There is no so-called "matter in general," or "motion in general." In this world, there are only concrete matter and motion in various forms. "Matter and motion are only simple terms. In these terms we include all things and events sensed by us according to their common characteristics." (Engels)

The above is the theory of motion of the world in dialectical materialism or the principle of world development. This thinking is the essence of Marxist philosophy. It is the proletarian outlook of the universe and methodology. If all the proletarian revolutionaries use this explicit science as a weapon, they will understand this world and can rebuild this world.

7. Theory of Time and Space

Motion is a form of material existence. Space and time are also forms of material existence. Moving matter exists in time and space, and the material existence of time and space is the premises of the motion of matter itself. Time and space cannot be separated from matter. "Matter exists in space" is to say that matter itself has the characteristic of expansion. The material world is a world in which there exists the characteristic of expansion. This is not to say that matter is placed in a non-material empty space. Space and time are not independent non-material things. They are not subjective forms of our senses, but forms of existence of the objective world. They do not exist outside of matter; nor does matter exist outside of them.

Regarding space and time as a form of material existence is a thoroughly materialistic view. This concept of space and time is basically opposite to the following idealistic concept of space and time:

(1) Kantian concept of space and time: Space and time are not regarded as objective reality, but objective forms of intuition.

(2) Hegelian concept of space and time: The concept of developing space and time is approaching absolute concept.

(3) Machian concept of space and time: Time and space are different kinds of senses, and "tools of harmonizing experience."

All these idealistic viewpoints do not accept the objective reality of time and space. They do not accept the fact that the concept of space of time, during its own development, reflects the form of materialistic existence. These erroneous theories have been refuted by dialectical materialism one by one.

On the problem dialectical materialism must not of space and time, only struggle with those idealistic theories, but also struggle with

mechanical materialism, especially Newton's theory of mechanics which regards space as an immobile, empty frame with no relationship to time, and puts matter into this empty frame. Opposing this theory, dialectical materialism points out that our concept of space is developing. "Aside from moving matter, there is nothing else in the world. If moving matter is not in space and time, there will be no possibility of motion. Man's concept of space and time is relative, but when all these relative concepts are put together, they become absolute truth. These relative concepts are developing uninterruptedly along the line of absolute truth, and are approaching closer and closer to absolute truth everyday. Man's changing concept about space and time can never overthrow the objective reality of the two. This is similar to the fact that the changing character of scientific knowledge about the form of motion and matter cannot overthrow the objective reality of the external world." (Lenin) The above is the theory of time and space of dialectical materialism.

8. Theory of Consciousness

Dialectical materialism maintains that knowledge is a product of matter, a form of development of matter, and a special characteristic of a definite state of matter. This materialistic and historical theory of consciousness is basically opposed to the viewpoints of all idealists and mechanical materialists concerning this problem.

According to Marx, consciousness originally develops from the inorganic world which has no consciousness to the animal world which has a low level of consciousness, and finally to mankind which has a high level of consciousness. The high level of consciousness is inseparable not only from the physiological development of the high nervous system, but also from the social development of labor and production. Marx and Engels have emphatically pointed out the dependence of consciousness upon the development of material production and the relationship between consciousness and human language.

The so-called consciousness is a special characteristic of a definite form of matter which constitutes a complex nervous system. This kind of nervous system can only occur in a high stage of natural evolution. In the entire inorganic, vegetative and low animal world, there is no possibility for consciousness to occur internally as well as externally, that is, the possibility of self-reflection, or the possibility of understanding the process of self-reflection. The objective physiological process in our nervous system parallels the subjective expression which, internally, takes the form of consciousness. To objective things, this physiological process is a process of certain matter, but to the material body equipped with a brain this process is, at the same time, subjective psychological behavior.

There is no such thing as the spirit of the substance of a special thinking. There is only the matter for thinking—the brain. This matter for thinking is a matter of special quality. It develops to a high degree along with the development of language in the social life of mankind. This kind of matter possesses the ability to think as its special characteristic—a characteristic that other matters do not possess.

However, the vulgar materialists maintain that thinking is a matter derived from the brain. This viewpoint distorts our concept in regard to this problem. It is necessary to know that thinking, emotion, and conscious behavior are not things which have such characteristics as weight, expansion, etc. Consciousness, weight and expansion are different characteristics of the same matter. Consciousness is an inner state of matter in motion, and reflects the special characteristic of the life process which occurs in moving matter. This special characteristic cannot be separated from the process of objective nervous function, but is also the same as that process. If the two are confused, the special characteristic of consciousness is obliterated. This is the viewpoint of the vulgarized materialism.

Similarly, the mechanical theory of the fake Marxism agrees with the opinion of certain capitalist rightists in the field of psychology. They, in fact, obliterate consciousness. They consider consciousness, a physiological process, as a special characteristic of a high-level substance, without seeing that consciousness is a product

of social practice of mankind. They equate the subject with the object, and replace both with one-sided mechanical objective world. This viewpoint which confuses consciousness with physiological process is hardly different from eliminating the basic problem of thinking and existence in philosophy.

Menshevik idealism attempts to use a compromising theory to replace Marxist epistemology. It harmonizes materialism with idealism, using the "alliance" of objectivism and subjectivism to oppose the principle of dialectics. But their principle is neither mechanical objectivism, nor idealistic subjectivism, but the principle of concrete objective and subjective history.

There is also the strange theory of Plekhanov who maintained that matter is alive. His remark "rock also has consciousness" fully expresses his opinion that consciousness does not occur in the process of development of matter, but exists in all matter at the very beginning. Later, it exists in low-level organic bodies and man, different only in degrees. This type of anti-historical opinion is also basically opposed to the viewpoint of dialectical materialism which regards consciousness as possessing material characteristics. Only the materialist theory of consciousness is the correct thought regarding the problem of consciousness.

9. Theory of Reflection

To a thorough materialist, just regarding matter as the origin of consciousness is not enough. One has to accept that matter can be known to consciousness.

Concerning the problem as to whether or not matter can be known, it is a complex problem, so complex that all the old philosophical schools were unable to resolve it. Only dialectical materialism can correctly resolve this problem. The position of dialectical materialism is opposed to the non-cognizable theory, and different from the blunt theory of realism.

Hume and Kant's non-cognizable theory separates the cognizing subject from the object. It believes that it is impossible to

go beyond the limits of the subject—an unsurpassable ditch between the "self-existing" matter and its image.

Mach's reality theory equates the object with feelings, maintaining that truth has established its complete form in feelings. At the same time, Machists do not understand that feeling is the result of external action. Nor do they understand the positive function of the subject during the process of cognizance, that is, the transformation work done by external action in the sense organs and the brain (or the formal expression of image and perception).

Only the reflection theory of dialectical materialism affirmatively answered the question of cognizability, and this answer becomes the "soul" of Marxist epistemology. This theory points out that our images and percepts are not only induced by objective things, but also reflects them. It also points out that images and percepts are neither products of the voluntary development of subjective bodies as the idealists say, nor symbols of objective things as said by those who maintain that nothing is cognizable. Such images and percepts are reflections of objective things, photographs, or copies.

Objective truth exists independent of subjective bodies. Although reflected in our feelings and percepts, objective truth does not take a complete form immediately. The form is completed step by step. It is a mistake to think that objective truth has taken a completed form in our feelings. Truth is gradually acquired. The blunt theory of reality is wrong.

Although objective truth does not take the completed form all at once in our feelings and percepts, it is by no means non-cognizable. The reflection theory of dialectical materialism opposes the theory of non-cognizability. It believes that consciousness can reflect objective truth during the process of cognizance. The process of cognizance is a complicated one during which the unknown "self-existing thing," as it is reflected in our image and percept, becomes "my thing." Feelings and thoughts are not what separate us from the external world as Kant said. They are, in fact, links between us and the external world. Feelings and thoughts are reflections of the external objective world. Thoughts (images and percepts) are nothing but "material things that

have appeared and transformed in man's brain." (Marx) During the process of cognizance, the material world becomes more intimately, more accurately, more many-sidedly, and more profoundly reflected in our cognizance. To wage a two-front Machism and Kantism is the task of Marx struggle against epistemology.

The dialectic materialist reflection theory maintains that our ability of knowing the objective world is limitless. This is exactly opposed to the opinion of those who believe that human ability to know is limited. However, we are not close to the absolute truth. Every time, we come to a line defined by history. Lenin said: "The approach of our knowledge to the objective absolute truth is limited by history, but the existence of this truth is absolute, and the fact that we are continuously getting closer to the truth is also absolute. The external form of a picture is historically conditional, but the existence of the objective reality which is the model of that picture is absolute. We accept the fact that man's knowledge is limited by historical conditions and that truth cannot be acquired once and for all, but we are not those who believe that things are not cognizable. We do not accept that truth can be completed in the historical movement of man's cognizance." Lenin also said: "Let us not understand the reflection of nature in man's thoughts in a rigid and absolute way. Cognizance is not motionless, or without contradictions. Cognizance is perpetually in the process of motion, that is, the perpetual process of movement of the occurrence of contradictions and the resolution of contradictions." The movement of cognizance is a complicated movement full of contradictions. This is the opinion of the dialectic materialistic epistemology.

In epistemology, all philosophies reflect the historical viewpoint, and none regards cognizance as a process. All these viewpoints are therefore narrow. The narrowness of the theory of experience creates a gap between feeling and percept. The narrowness of rationalism causes percepts separated from feeling. Only dialectical materialism which regards cognizance as a process (the theory of reflection) thoroughly eliminates this kind of narrowness and places cognizance in a materialistic and dialectic perspective.

The reflection theory points out that the process of reflection is not limited to feelings and images. It also exists in thoughts (in abstract concepts). Cognizance is therefore a moving process from feeling to thinking. Lenin once said: "Cognizance which reflects nature, is not a simple, direct, and total reflection. It is a formation process of many abstract thoughts, concepts, etc."

Meanwhile, Lenin also pointed out: "The cognizance process from feeling to thinking is a flying and leaping action." On this point, Lenin precisely clarifies the experience and rationality elements in cognizance and the viewpoint of dialectical materialism concerning their mutual relationship. Many philosophers do not understand that the movement of cognizance is a sudden change occurring in the moving process from feeling to thinking (from image to concept). Therefore, to understand this sudden leaping change produced from contradictions is to understand the dialectic unity concerning the unity of feeling and thinking. This is the most essential element for understanding the substance of Lenin's reflection theory.

10. Theory of Truth

Truth is objective, relative, and absolute. This is the materialist dialectic theory of truth.

First of all, truth is objective. Accepting the reality of matter and the opinion that matter is the origin of consciousness is the same as accepting truth being objective. That is to say, the objectively existing material world is the only source of our knowledge or concepts, and there is no other source. Only idealists deny the independent existence of the material world separated from man's consciousness—this is the basic principle of idealism. They maintain that knowledge or concepts are produced by the subject body, and the object body is unnecessary. Therefore, they accept subjective truth and deny objective truth. This does not conform to facts. Any knowledge or any concept which does not reflect the regularity of the objective world is not scientific. It is not objective truth, it is only subjective, self-deceiving superstition or delusion. The purpose of mankind is to

change the environment. All practical actions, whether they are productive or not, are commanded by thoughts (knowledge). If these thoughts do not coincide with objective regularity, then the latter is not reflected in the brain of man. If the objective regularity did not form the contents of man's thoughts or knowledge, his action will certainly not be able to bring him to his goal. The so-called subjective errors in revolutionary movements indicate this situation. (The reason why Marxism becomes the scientific knowledge of revolution is that it correctly reflects the actual regularity of the objective world. It is the truth of the objective world.) All anti-Marxist thoughts are wrong because they are not based on objective regularity and are completely subjective imagination. Some people said that whatever is generally accepted is objective truth. (Subjective idealist Bogdanov so said.) According to this viewpoint, religion and prejudice are also objective truth, because although they are absurdities, they are accepted by the majority of people. Sometimes correct scientific thoughts cannot compete with these absurdities. Materialist dialectics is fundamentally opposed to this. It believes that only the knowledge that correctly reflects objective regularity can be called truth and all truth must be objective. Truth and absurdity are absolutely opposed to each other. In order to judge whether a knowledge is truth or not, it is only necessary to see whether it reflects objective regularity. If it does not agree with objective regularity, then no matter whether it is accepted by everyone, or no matter how it is widely supported or enthusiastically described in a revolutionary movement, it must be treated as erroneous or absurd.

As materialist dialectics accepts objective truth, it accepts absolute truth. When we say the contents of knowledge reflecting the objective world, we are saying that the object of our knowledge is that perpetual and absolute world. "Knowledge of truth concerning nature is perpetual and infinite; it is, therefore, absolute." (Engels) Objective absolute truth does not become our knowledge all at once in its entirety. We reach absolute truth through the endless process of development of our knowledge through numerous introductions of relative truths. The aggregate of numerous relative truths is the

expression of absolute truth. The common denominators of human thinking lead us to absolute truth. Absolute truth is the accumulation of relative truths. During each stage of scientific development, new seeds are sown into the sum total—the absolute truth. The element of truth in each scientific principle is relative. Absolute truth can only be expressed through innumerable relative. Absolute truth can only be expressed through innumerable relative truths. If not expressed through these innumerable relative truths, absolute truth has no way of being known. Materialist dialectics does not deny the relativity of knowledge. However, this is only to point out the limitations of objective truth as far as history is concerned. We are not saying that knowledge itself is only relative. Scientific knowledge is different from errors. The former shows and describes the objective absolute truth. This is the viewpoint of dialectics concerning the relationship between absolute truth and relative truth.

There are two viewpoints. One is metaphysical materialism and the other is idealist relativism. Both are wrong on the problem of mutual relationship between absolute truth and relative truth. Based upon the cardinal metaphysical principle "the material world does not change," the metaphysical materialists believe that man's thinking also does not change. They believe that in the process of human knowledge, the never-changing world is known to man all at once. That is to say that they deny absolute truth, which they say, is acquired by man in one stroke. They regard truth as motionless, dead, and not developing. Their mistake does not lie in that they accept absolute truth. In this respect, they are correct. Their mistake lies in their failure to understand the historical nature of truth, in their not treating the acquiring of truth as a process of cognizance, and in their failure to understand that absolute truth is released step by step during the process of development of human knowledge. Each forward step in this process shows some contents of absolute truth. As far as the entire truth is concerned, each forward step has its relative significance. Metaphysical materialist opinion on truth is an extreme view in epistemology.

Another extreme concerning the problem of truth in epistemology is idealist relativism. They deny absolute truth and accept only its relative meaning. They believe that a scientific discovery does not contain absolute truth, and hence it is objective truth. Truth is regarded as subjective and relative. Because of this, all erroneous theories have their right of existence. Thus imperialist aggression of weak nations and exploitation of the working masses by the ruling class become truths because truth is subjective and relative anyway. The result of denying objective truth and accepting subjective truth has, of necessity, brought about this kind of conclusion. The original purpose of idealist relativism is to defend the ruling class. For instance, the purpose of relativist pragmatism (or empiricism) is exactly so.

In view of the above, neither metaphysical materialism nor idealist relativism can correctly resolve the problem of the mutual relationship between absolute truth and relative truth. Only materialist dialectics can give the correct answer to the problem of the mutual relationship between thinking and existence. With this answer, the objectivity of scientific knowledge is affirmed, and the meanings of absolute truth and objective truth are correctly understood. This is the theory of truth of materialist dialectics.

11. Theory of Practice

[Note from JPRS: There is no text for this section in the original manuscript. There is no explanation for its absence. Editor.]

Chapter 3: Materialist Dialectics

In the last two chapters, the two problems "idealism and materialism" and "dialectical materialism" were discussed. Dialectics was briefly mentioned. Now let us discuss this subject systematically. The Marxist world outlook (called outlook of the universe) is dialectical materialism, not metaphysical materialism (or mechanical materialism). This difference is a serious heaven-turning earth-

shaking problem. What is the world? From ancient times to now, there are three answers. The first is idealism (be it metaphysical idealism or dialectic idealism). It maintains that the world is created by mind or the God. The second is mechanical materialism. It denies that the world is mind's world, and maintains that the world is a material world, but the material is not developing and not changing. The third is the Marxist answer which refutes the first two, maintaining that the world is not created by our mind, and not made of undeveloping[3] matter. Instead, it is a developing material world. This is dialectical materialism. The Marxist way of looking at the world is to turn the image in man's eyes around. Is it not a great earth-shaking argument? The argument that the world is a developing material world has long existed in ancient Greece, but due to limitations at that time, it was only simply and generally stated. It was called simple materialism. If there were no such argument, it would be impossible for science to have a foundation. This argument is basically correct. Later, Hegel created dialectic idealism, maintaining that the world is developing, but is created by mind. His theory is idealist development theory. His theory of development (dialectics) is correct, but his idealist development theory is wrong. In the West, in the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries, the idealism of the bourgeois class in France and Germany is mechanical idealism. They were right in saying that the world is a material world, but very wrong in saying that the world is moving like a machine, and that it has only quantitative and positional changes without qualitative changes. Marx inherited simple materialism and transformed mechanical materialism and dialectic idealism into historically unprecedented and scientifically based dialectical materialism, which has become a weapon for the proletariat of the world and for the revolution of all oppressed people.

Materialist dialectics is a Marxist scientific methodology, a method of cognizance, as well as a world outlook. The world is basically a developing material world. This is a world outlook. Using this world outlook to look at the world, to study the problems of the world, to direct revolution, to work, to produce, to direct warfare, and

[3] Editors: That is "unchanging" or "motionless" matter.

to argue with other people is a methodology. In Marxism, world outlook and methodology are one thing. Dialectics, epistemology, and logic are also one thing.

We wish to talk about dialectics systematically. It has many categories, many rules, and many principles (these terms have the same meaning).

What are the rules of materialist dialectics? Among these rules, which are the basic ones, and which are the subordinate ones but indispensable in materialist dialectics? What are the unresolved problems? What are the side issues?

Why these laws are the original rules of the objective world rather than subjectively created? Why do we wish to understand and learn these laws?

This complete theory of materialist dialectics was created by Marx and Engels. Lenin developed this theory. With the triumph of the socialist revolution in Russia and the world revolution, this theory came to a new stage of development, and its contents were further enriched. The categories contained in this theory are as follows:

The law of the unity of contradictions

The law of mutual changes between quality and quantity

The law of negation of negation

The above are the basic laws of materialist dialectics. All these laws were negated by metaphysical philosophy (philosophy opposed to the theory of development), although the ancient Greeks had simply but unsystematically pointed out the meaning of some of the laws, and later Hegel developed these laws along the idealist line. It was Marx and Engels who transformed the Hegelian laws into the most basic portions of the Marxist world outlook and methodology.

In addition to the above laws, there are the following related categories:

Substance and phenomena
Form and content
Cause and effect
Bases and conditions
Possibility and reality
Accidental and inevitable
Chain and link

Some of these categories have been emphatically studied in metaphysics and idealist dialectics, others have only been partially studied, and still others were new categories proposed by Marxism. When these categories are in the hands of Marxist revolutionary theoreticians and practitioners, their idealist and metaphysical cloak is ripped off, their one-sidedness is overcome, and their true form is discovered. As. time advances, their contents are greatly enriched to become the important elements of scientific methods. Combining these categories and the aforementioned basic categories, a complete and profound materialistic dialectical system is formed.

All these principles and categories are not created by man's thoughts, but original principles of the objective world. All idealists say that matter is created by spirit. In their eyes, philosophical principles, rules, or categories are of course created by the mind. Hegel, who developed dialectic system, looked at dialectics in this way. In his eyes, dialectics is not a rule abstracted from the history of nature and society, but purely rational system of the mind. After this system is created by man's mind, it is then applied to nature and society. Marx and Engels ripped off Hegel's mythical cloak and got rid of his idealism, putting dialectics in the place of materialism. Engels said: "Dialectical rules are abstracted from natural and human history, and they are nothing but the most general rules of development of natural and human history. In essence, they may be summarized into the rule of mutual change of quality and quantity, the

rule of unity of contradictions, and the rule of negation of negations." Dialectical rules are rules of the objective world, and at the same time they are also rules of the subjective mind. Rules in human mind are nothing but reflections of the rules of the objective world through practice. As we have said before, dialectics, epistemology and logic are one and the same thing.

Why do we learn dialectics? We learn dialectics in order to transform this world, and to improve the old relationship between man and man and between man and matter. In this world, most people are suffering. They are controlled by a few people and oppressed by various political and economic systems. People living in China are under inhuman dual oppressions—national and social. We must change this old relationship in our strife for national and social liberation.

Is it necessary to learn dialectics in order to rebuild China and rebuild the world? Since dialectics is the most general principle of development of nature and society, if we understand it, we shall have acquired a scientific weapon, and we shall be equipped with a theory and method suitable to our practice of transforming the nature and society. Materialist dialectics itself is a science (philosophical science). It is the starting point of all sciences, and it is also methodology. Our revolution is also a kind of science, called social science or political science. If we do not understand dialectics, we will not be able to do our work well. All mistakes in revolution were due to violations of dialectics. If we understand dialectics, great and powerful effect will be generated. If we analyze things that have been done correctly, we find that they were done according to dialectics. Therefore, all revolutionary comrades, and first of all the cadres, should carefully study dialectics.

Some people say that there are many people who understand dialectics and are actual materialists. Although they have never read books on dialectics, they are always right in their work, and they always follow the materialist dialectic method. In this case, it is unnecessary for them to study dialectics. Materialist dialectics is a complete and profound science. Those revolutionaries who are

endowed with materialistic and dialectical brains may learn dialectics through practice, but their knowledge is not systematical, not so complete and so profound. As a result, they are unable to see the bright future of their movement, to analyze the complicated process of development, to grasp the important links in politics, or to deal with all aspects of revolutionary work. Therefore, they still have to study dialectics.

Some people say that dialectics is profound and hard to understand, and that it is impossible for an ordinary person to learn dialectics. This kind of talk is also wrong. Dialectics consists of principles of natural and social thinking. Anyone who has some social experience (experience in production and class struggle) knows some dialectics. Those who have more social experience will know dialectics more. But their knowledge is scattered and confused, and falls within the realm of common sense. To enhance their common sense about dialectics and put it in order is not difficult. The reason why people think dialectics is difficult is lack of good books on dialectics. Many of the books published in China are either poorly written or not well written. So much so, people are afraid to read those books. Books interpreting dialectics should use popular language and intimate experience. I believe that this kind of book will be written eventually in the future. This lecture of mine is not good either because I myself am a beginner in the study of dialectics, unable to write a good book. Probably I can in the future. This is only a wish. It may become true, depending upon the progress of my study.

THE GREAT SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DECEMBER 9TH MOVEMENT (9 December 1939)

From: *Red Flag* (Beijing) 1, no. 23 (1 December 1985): 3–7, trans. JPRS.

[Editors' Note: Speech delivered on 9 December 1939 at a rally in Yanan to celebrate the fourth anniversary of the 9 December Movement.]

Comrades,

We hold a rally today to mark the fourth anniversary of the December 9th Movement. All the young people here are full of vigor and vitality. It is indeed a lively rally! More than one rally has been held in Yanan commemorating the December 9th Movement, but I was unable to attend any of them. I feel very excited that I can attend this one today.

I believe that things in China can be handled even better now. What must we do in China? We must oppose imperialism and the forces of darkness, as the Chinese people have been doing for 100 years since the Opium War. That is a long time. Although they have not fulfilled their task, it is, after all, much easier to deal with this matter now, because the Kuomintang die-hards have greatly strengthened their anticommunist activities and struck at the progress in the field of culture. Some people have said now: It is hard to do things in China. Those people work hard to achieve progress, and they fight for the interests of the state and the nation. They are filled with enthusiasm and good intentions to straighten up the state and the nation. However, at the crucial moment of the war of resistance against Japan, they saw the dark shadows of surrender, splits, and retrogression cast by the diehards in their vicinity. Their efforts were restricted and suppressed in various ways. They invariably felt that it was hard to do things. This is one side of the matter. We naturally resolutely oppose the perverse acts of the diehards. However, as far as

the overall situation is concerned, we believe that compared with before, it is much easier, not more difficult, to do things in China now.

Why is that? We must explain this by the December 9th Movement we commemorate today.

First, what is the December 9th Movement, after all? You comrades all understand, and Comrade Li Chang has also explained it just now. However, we must further understand: In what kind of political environment did it take place? What is its political significance? What kind of political impact does it have on China? By understanding these questions, we will be able to see that the situation in China is markedly different from that in the past and that it is much easier now, not more difficult, to do things in China than before. After the 10,000-li Long March, the Red Army arrived in Wuqi township, northern Shaanxi, in October 1935. The enemy was still attacking us then. In late November that year we even won three battles in Fu County. While we were celebrating the victories, we heard the news about the December 9th Movement in Peiping on 10 December. How jubilant we were! The Red Army comrades completed such a great Long March, while the student comrades launched such a great national salvation movement in Peiping. Both were struggles for the liberation of the nation and the people and of direct significance in giving impetus to the war of resistance against Japan. In historical terms, the December 9th Movement was an extremely important aspect in preparing for the war of resistance against Japan.

Some people said: The December 9th Movement is not as good as the May 4th Movement. That is to say, the former is not as politically significant as the latter. Is this correct? No, it is incorrect. We believe they are of equally great significance.

The May 4th Movement was preparation for the Northern Expedition. The Northern Expedition would have been unthinkable without the May 4th Movement. Some people think the student movement is now powerful. But what are the facts? The May 4th Movement, launched by the broad masses of students, inspired the June 3d national strike by workers, shopkeepers, and students in their struggle against imperialism and the traitorous government and

developed into a nationwide movement. After the May 4th Movement, the Communist Party of China was born, bringing about the first cooperation between the Kuomintang and the CPC, whipping up the May 30th Movement, starting the Northern Expedition, and giving rise to the first great revolution. It is thus obvious that without the May 4th Movement, the first great revolution would have been impossible. The May 4th Movement indeed prepared public opinion, public support, and public thinking, and prepared the cadres for the first great revolution.

As for the December 9th Movement, it was preparation for the great war of resistance against Japan, similar to the May 4th Movement which was preparation for the first great revolution. The December 9th Movement gave impetus to and prepared for the July 7th war of resistance against Japan.

Let us survey the circumstances surrounding the outbreak of the December 9th Movement. On the one hand, the movement broke out in the Kuomintang ruling area where the Communist Party was considered absolutely powerless and illegitimate and during the war period of "suppression of the communists" by the reactionary Kuomintang when the communists were under military and cultural "encirclement and suppression." It is needless to recount the past hardships of the Communist Party and the Red Army during the so-called the war of "suppression of the communists." Later, the Red Army embarked on

Long March. They traversed 25,000 li [in actual distance], and people gave them "send-offs" from behind along the way. People also "greeted" them in the front and sent them "gifts" from the sky. The gifts were bombs. Notwithstanding the incessant "send-offs" and "greetings," the Red Army eventually arrived in northern Shaanxi. However, the enemy continued to deliver bullets as gifts from the front and the back. In other words, the Red Army was still under "encirclement and suppression" after their arrival in northern Shaanxi. Such were the circumstances of the military "encirclement and suppression." How about cultural "encirclement and suppression"? The enemy built "blockhouses" in school campuses, in books,

newspapers and magazines, as well as in social, cultural, and educational organizations. They "advanced steadily and struck sure blows and entrenched themselves at every step." We can perceive this point simply by reading the writings by Lu Xun. His militant essays criticizing social evils are in opposition to cultural "encirclement and suppression" and to the oppression of the thinking of the youth. On the other hand, the Japanese imperialists had occupied northeast China and were planning to "turn northern China into a special region," and were actively making preparations to destroy the whole of China. Hence, the 450 million people clamored to fight Japanese imperialism. Yet, some people raised opposition. They also wanted to fight, but whom did they want to fight? The Communist Party, the young students, and the progressive people in the cultural circles. The common people throughout the country told them: You are going in the wrong direction. We firmly oppose you. Such is the other side of the circumstances for the outbreak of the December 9th Movement. The situation turned for the better after the outbreak of the December 9th Movement. The Xian Incident was peacefully resolved. The Kuomintang government's tactics of fighting the Communist Party instead of Japanese imperialism no longer worked. They were forced to abandon the policy to "suppress the communists" and veered around to the road of preparations for the war of resistance against aggression. This led to the convocation of the Third Kuomintang Central Committee Plenary Session and the formal declaration on the formation of the National United Front Against Japanese Aggression. The December 9th Movement has rendered great contributions in this respect.

Here, we must pay particular attention to the close relationship between the Red Army's Long March and the December 9th Movement. The movement broke out when the Red Army marched north to fight against Japanese aggression and arrived in northern Shaanxi. The triumph of the Red Army's 25,000-li Long March assisted the movement, while the latter also rendered assistance to the Red Army. The combination of the two incidents brought about the

war of resistance against aggression by the whole nation, rendered assistance to the Chinese nation, and furthered national interests.

The CPC Central Committee's 1 August declaration called on all the nation's people to fight against Japanese imperialism, and thereby spurred the development of the trend of national unity in the war of resistance against aggression. The December 9th Movement broke out when the CPC issued the 1 August declaration, the Red Army triumphantly arrived in northern Shaanxi, The and the Japanese imperialists stepped up aggression against China. broad masses of young students rose to oppose oppression by the authorities, to fight against Japanese imperialist aggression against China, and to demand both an end to the civil war and national unity against Japanese aggression. The outbreak of the movement caused a sensation throughout the country. In coordination with the Red Army's Northern Expedition against Japanese aggression, the movement promoted peace at home and the war of resistance against Japan, and helped turn the movement against Japanese aggression into a national one. Hence, the December 9th Movement mobilized the entire nation against aggression. It made ideological and psychological preparations against aggression and prepared cadres for fighting the war of resistance against Japan. The relation between the December 9th Movement and the war of resistance against Japan is all the more conspicuous if we contrast it with the relation between the May 4th Movement and the Northern Expedition. Because the December 9th Movement is complemented by the triumph of the Red Army's Long March, the time separating the movement and the war of resistance is even shorter. In short, the December 9th Movement will become a very important event in Chinese history. After the outbreak of the movement and the war of resistance against Japan, China's anti-imperialist cause advanced more smoothly.

Second, it is more easy now to oppose the forces of darkness which oppress young students and intellectuals, and the forces of darkness find it has become increasingly more difficult to oppress young students and intellectuals. The December 9th Movement proved this point. The forces of darkness attempted to oppress

progressive ideas, but they inevitably failed in the end. Prior to the December 9th Movement, they had carried out 8 years of anti-communist education in a well-planned way. All school courses with a political inclination were, first of all, based on the principle of opposing communism and Marxism; teachers who were considered communists or Marxists were excluded and persecuted. From the second half of 1927 they carried out this education for as long as 8 years and, very unfortunately, the result was the "December 9th." This was, to be sure, extremely regrettable for those anti-communist gentlemen in the Kuomintang. Some people say that "December 9th" was a rebellion by the students. The students admitted this. It was indeed a rebellion. However, against whom did they rebel? They rebelled against their oppressors, those who suppressed their ideas, and those who preached the fake three people's principles. The purpose of their rebellion was to put into practice the real three people's principles, that is, the ones favoring alliance with the Soviet Union and the Communist Party and support for the peasants and workers. They rebelled to remove all obstacles in the way of implementing the three people's principles. Should they participate in such a rebellion? The answer is yes, yes, and yes.

Things in the world can be very strange. A person bumps his head against a nail on the wall, he is hurt, he strokes his head, and later he forgets all about it. You see, some people refused to recognize the May 4th Movement. Now, they do. Today some people still do not recognize the December 9th Movement. However, if the "May 4th" experience applies here, they cannot but recognize "December 9th" some day. If they persistently refuse to recognize it, then we should allow them to choose the last one of the 36 strategems, that is, simply put, to ask them to beat it. The world is progressing forward; going backward won't do. The pigtail of the Chinese is a thing of the past; there is no pigtail for them to wear even if they want. Old, backward things cannot but collapse, to be replaced by new, progressive things. With the progressive trends, if people still do not recognize or even disdain the December 9th Movement, then there is no question that they will meet some bad luck some day.

Young students nowadays are more sensible. They are sharper than when I was a student. I went to school for a couple of years, and all I learned at that time was what the classics and Confucius preached. I was under the impression that all government officials and emperors were good. Later, I attended a Western-style school and was exposed to revolution. I learned that emperors were bad. I also learned that the capital of the United States is Washington, the capital of Britain is London, that X plus Y equals Z, and things like numerators, atoms, and electrons. Nowadays, you not only know this stuff but also about Marxism. At that time, I did not know who Marx was. This proves that you are now more progressive than we were. When World War I broke out, the upper circles favored joining the Entente countries to help Britain and France fight against Germany and Austria. Their argument seemed impressive and logical, and they did deceive some people. When World War I ended in 1918, China also convened a meeting in Beijing to mark the occasion. They erected, with great fanfare, a stone tablet with the inscription "Justice Triumphs." Many people were confused at that time. However, times are different now. China is forever progressing forward. The Chinese people now understand world affairs and they understand revolution. They get this knowledge gradually; they knew little before, and they know a lot now. They understand that the wars of the imperialists are unjust and predatory by nature. They also understand the schemes and intrigues of the Japanese imperialists, the sinisterness and ruthlessness of the capitulationist clique and the diehards, and they understand democratic constitutional government. They have a clear understanding, want progress and democracy, and want to participate in government and political affairs. However, to truly establish a democratic and constitutional government everyone needs to come forward to struggle. In order to establish such a government, youth, students, workers, and peasants throughout the country must join hands in the struggle. People have become wise now, and they are not to be fooled easily. They all keep their eyes wide open to see who is withholding democracy, who wants a split, who wants to surrender and who wants retrogression. In "Gods and Heroes," Jiang Ziya had

an unworthy junior fellow apprentice by the name of Shen Gongbao, whose face was on the back of his head and whose eyes therefore were looking backward. At present, there are a number of "Shen Gongbaos," or retrogressionists, hidden in the anti-Japanese camp. They want to drag China backward. They are a reactionary force oppressing the progressive force in China today. Let's say that they have the freedom to oppress. Nevertheless, the broad masses of youth, workers, and peasants in China have another kind of freedom—the freedom to resist reactionary forces. We do not permit reactionary forces to drag China backward. Can we stop them? Yes, we can, because the people in China today are not to be deceived easily. present, most people do not permit them to oppress, surrender, divide, and go backward; and most people want to oppose their oppression, persistently resist Japanese aggression, unify, and make progress. Let us wait and see how those "Shen Gongbaos" are going to end it all.

Third, what is the relationship between the December 9th Movement and the CPC? The CPC no doubt played a backbone role in the December 9th Movement. It would have been impossible for the December 9th Movement to take place if the CPC had not played that backbone role. First of all, the CPC's 1 August declaration had provided the youth and students with a clear and definite political principle. Next, the arrival of the Red Army in northern Shaanxi had promoted the national salvation movement in northern China. The third factor was the direct leadership of the CPC northern bureau and CPC organizations in Shanghai. It was in such a situation that the December 9th Movement started, gained momentum at various levels in China and became a great political force for an all-people national salvation movement. Youth and students were like the wood fueling the December 9th Movement, and all we needed then was a match to ignite it. Who struck the match? The CPC did. Since its founding, the CPC has integrated itself with youth, students, and intellectuals. Therefore, only by standing together with the CPC can youth, students, and intellectuals embark on a correct road. The intellectuals will not have great strength, nor can they make great accomplishments if they do not integrate themselves with the workers and the peasants.

The revolutionary ranks will not be able to make great accomplishments either if they do not include intellectuals. Only when intellectuals have correctly integrated themselves with the workers and the peasants, can we have invincible strength. Therefore, intellectuals should integrate themselves with the CPC, the broad masses of workers and peasants, the revolutionary armed forces, the 8th Route Army, and the New 4th Army. The CPC members should make it clear to our sympathizers that the CPC welcomes intellectuals very much and wants to unite with them. Of course, we should oppose a few bad intellectuals who sabotage our revolution, the intellectuals who commit treason, and the "Shen Gongbao-type" intellectuals. It is a crime not to oppose such intellectuals, and to oppose them is in the interests of the nation and the people.

At present, many young intellectuals have no freedom, nor the right to travel. For instance, there are many roadblocks along the road from Xian to Yanan, making it very difficult for young intellectuals to get to Yanan. Instead, the young intellectuals have been rounded up and taken to the "training centers" in concentration camps, because they do not have the same weapon, horse, and martial art skills as Guan Yu did. It seems that it is difficult to solve this problem. However, things will be easy if the intellectuals integrate themselves with the 8th Route Army, the New 4th Army, and the guerrillas, or in other words, if the pen and the rifle are integrated. With such an integration, we will have no fear of any imperialists and diehard elements. With such an integration, will those dogs dare to come to bite us?

Since the Opium War, the Chinese people have had 100 years of experience in the struggle against imperialist and reactionary forces. With the addition of the CPC's 18 years of experience in struggle, what can't we do? So, things in China are easier to do now than before. We must resist Japanese aggression until we win a final victory, overthrow Japanese imperialism, and found a democratic republic. At present, the imperialists and "Shen Gongbaos" are still constantly obstructing us from doing so.

Don't worry.

We have become wise and have strength. We are no longer the people of yesterday, but the people of today. Imperialists and “Shen Gongbaos,” it is time for you to scram!

LETTER FROM CHAIRMAN MAO TO MAO ANYING AND MAO ANQING (31 January 1941)

From: *Red Flag* (Beijing) 1, no. 1 (January 1979): 11–12, trans. JPRS.

To my sons Anying and Anqing,

I received a long letter from Anying, a letter from Anqing and the photo album and photos from Anying long ago, adding up to several letters and photos, but I didn't answer. I am very sorry and know that you must have been worried.

I am pleased to learn of your progress. Anying's letters read well, his calligraphy is not bad and he has shown the will to go ahead—this is very good. The only suggestion I would make is that you spend more time studying natural science, while you are still young, and less discussing politics. Political discussion is necessary, but at present you'd better devote yourselves to the study of natural science, supplemented by social science. In the future you can reverse the order, making social science your main subject and natural science auxiliary. In short, pay attention to science, which alone is genuine knowledge and which will be extremely useful in the future. People speak highly of you and flatter you. This may spur you on, and that's good, but it may make you complacent and turn your heads, and the danger may arise of not knowing how to keep your feet on the ground and seek truth from facts. This could be bad. You have your own futures before you. Whether they are bright or not will depend on yourselves and on your immediate environment. I don't want to interfere in your affairs. I put forward my views only as suggestions for you to consider, and you must make the decisions. In a word, I love you both and hope you do still better.

Anying asked me to write a poem, but I can't because I don't have the least inspiration. On your request for books, I asked old Comrade Lin Po-chu in Sian to mail a stack of them to your group of young people in 1939, and I'm really sorry to hear that you never

received them. I am now selecting and sending you a few, and more will be sent later.

My health is not so good this year, and I am displeased with myself. I am so busy I have little time to read. How are things with you? Thinking a lot about you.

Mao Zedong
31 January 1941

ON CONDUCTING RURAL SURVEYS (13 SEPTEMBER 1941)

From *Red Flag* (Beijing) 1, no. 1 (January 1979): 3–6, trans. JPRS.

1. Conditions are Understood Gradually and Only with Persistence

Getting to know the world is no easy matter. Marx and Engels rounded off the theory of scientific communism only after lifelong effort and repeated investigation and study. Lenin and Stalin also made many investigations.

Carrying out the Chinese revolution also requires investigation and study. First of all we must know China (its past, present and future). It is regrettable that many comrades are often subjectivist and opinionated and attach no importance whatsoever to investigation and study.

We believe in science, not theology. Therefore, instead of giving play to our imagination we look at the grassroots levels in making investigation. At the same time we believe that things are in motion, that they are changing, progressing. Thus, investigation is a long-term job. We need to investigate things today, and our children and grandchildren will have to investigate things in the future. Only this way is it possible to go on learning new things and acquiring more knowledge.

We must investigate patiently, step by step, and must not be impetuous. It was only after several years of effort that I came to know the countryside.

I remember it was in 1920, when I first read Kautsky's *Class Struggle*, Chen Wang-tao's translation of the *Communist Manifesto*, and an Englishman's *History of Socialism*, that I came to know that the history of mankind is a history of class struggle and that class struggle is the motive force in social development; only then did I begin to grasp the method of cognizing problems. But in none of these books was there any mention of things specifically Chinese, such as

Hunan or Hubei, Chiang Kai-shek, or Chen Duxiu.[4] I took from them only the idea of "class struggle" and began to study practical class struggle in earnest. After taking part in the peasant movement for 4 months, I came to know something about the various classes, but this knowledge was quite superficial, not at all deep.

The Central Committee later asked me to take charge of the peasant movement. I then made up my mind to conduct further investigations, spending a little over a month in the survey of the five counties of Changsha, Hsiangtan, Hsianghsiang, Hengshan and Liling. There was an upsurge in the peasant movement in these counties, and many peasants had joined peasant associations. The Kuomintang attacked us for "going too far" and for engaging in "riffraff activities" and reviled the peasants for "going too far" by lolling on the beds of the daughters of big landlords. In fact, my investigations showed that not all things had gone "too far," they said they had, but that this state of affairs was natural and necessary, because the peasants had suffered too much. I think it is inevitable for peasants who have been oppressed for thousands of years to go a little "too far" once they rise up, and it wouldn't have mattered much if they had lolled on the beds of the daughters of the landlords even more often.

However, I was still not very clear about class alinement in the countryside. It was only when I had made a survey of Xunwu after we got to the Jinggang Mountains that I became clear on the question of the rich peasants and the landlords. I put forward measures for dealing with the rich peasants, measures that involved not only "taking from those who have more land and giving to those who have less" but also "taking from those who have better and giving to those who have worse," for this was the only way the rich peasants, middle peasants, poor peasants and farm laborers could all carry on. If the landlords were not given any land and had nothing to live on, and if the rich peasants were only given poor land and were left half-destitute and driven to rebel, the poor peasants and farm laborers would be

[4] Editors: The rendering in the translation is "Chen Tu-hsiu" which is the old transliteration of Chen Duxiu's name.

mutilated. Some people ridiculed my approach as a rich-peasant line, yet I'm afraid my measures were the only correct ones at the time. Of course, today we have the anti-Japanese national united front, and we are reducing rent and interest, not depriving the landlords and rich peasants of their property rights. Otherwise, it would be impossible for us to unite with them in the fight against Japan.

As regards the poor peasants and farm laborers, I became clear only after my survey of Xingguo County, which helped me realize the importance of poor peasant leagues in redistributing land.

So, it took me 6 to 7 years to acquire experience in conducting rural surveys. Now, with the experience of other comrades to go by, you can take shortcuts and accomplish such work in a few months instead of 6 or 7 years. The thing for comrades to do today is dig into questions and exert yourselves in a matter-of-fact way. Provided you are not sleepy-heads, you can achieve quite a lot even if you work at it only 6 hours a day. But you do need to keep at it.

2. Method

(A) *The unity of opposites and class struggle are the two points of departure in our work.*

When we observe something, the first step can only be to perceive its broad outlines and form a general impression. Take the case of a newcomer to Yenan. At first he has only a general and vague idea of the place. But after he has visited the anti-Japanese military and political university, the women's college and other schools and government institutions in Yenan, he takes the second step, adopts an analytical approach and makes a careful and systematic study and analysis of the different aspects of Yenan. Then, taking the third step, he employs synthesis to sum up his analyses of these different aspects and gains a picture of Yenan as a whole. He now knows a Yenan which is different from the one he knew on his arrival. He saw Yenan as a whole at the beginning, and he is still seeing Yenan as a whole now, but his knowledge of the place is different. He has now gained a

scientific knowledge and a concrete understanding of Yenan. The same is true of our observing a village.

That was the method used by Marx in writing *Das Kapital*. He first analyzed the various sectors of a capitalist society and then summed up his analysis to realize the law of the capitalist movement.

Special attention should be paid to analysis. There should be synthesis as well as analysis, that is to say, there is an element of synthesis in the analysis made in the second step. As the old saying goes, the principle of good writing is to have both an unfolding and a summing up. This saying is correct. And it was also correct for Su Dongpo to study history and the Sung dynasty by using the method of "tackling the enemy from eight sides." As we study Chinese society today, we should likewise use the method of "tackling the enemy from four sides," dividing it into four sectors—political, economic, cultural and military—and drawing conclusions for the Chinese revolution.

If we use the method of "looking at flowers while on horseback," trying to know a bit of everything, we will only be wasting time and will get nowhere.

Therefore, we must grasp this viewpoint, that is, the unity of opposites and class struggle. This is the viewpoint inherent in analysis and synthesis, as I have already said. If you use this approach in analyzing conditions in the rural areas, you will come to know the classes there, their main characteristics and their interrelations. One of the questions you have asked me is: What is a rich peasant? In my view, a landlord lives mainly on rent; a rich peasant lives mainly by hiring farm laborers while engaging in some labor himself; a middle peasant generally does not sell his labor power and works his own land; a poor peasant has to sell his labor power, as he cannot make a living from his land; and a farm laborer sells all his labor power and owns no land at all. Of course, these are only the main criteria of the above classes.

Such an analysis of the different classes and strata as well as their general living conditions is the only way to correctly understand the overall situation in the countryside.

We should think hard in analyzing objective reality and analyzing classes. We should not turn a blind eye to practical problems. We should throw out purveyors of bombast and should think things out for ourselves and integrate theory with practice.

Lenin said in 1905 that a government of workers and peasants should be formed in Russia after the overthrow of the tsarist government, but Trotsky maintained that there should be a government of workers alone. This shows that Trotsky did not really integrate theory with practice. We should try through practice to identify the law of the movement of things and create new theories. For instance, the protracted nature of China's war of resistance against Japan constitutes a law of that war.[5] Today, when you go down to rural areas to make investigations, you should adopt this viewpoint and method to guide your practice and, at the same time, constantly enrich your theoretical understanding in the course of practice.

(B) *Gathering vast amounts of data and grasping the main points.*

The more data one collects, the better. But it is essential to grasp the main points of characteristics (the principal aspects of contradictions). When Marx was studying capitalism and Lenin imperialism, they collected vast amounts of statistics and data. However, they did not use them all; they only made use of such data as best illustrated the characteristics under consideration.

No investigation, no right to speak. But there are comrades who like to ask: "Out of ten things, I have investigated nine—all but one. Don't I have the right to speak?" I think that if the nine you have investigated are all secondary things and you have omitted the principal one, you still have no right to speak.

In China today the national contradiction is the principal contradiction, while the class contradiction has become secondary. Before the Sian Incident the contradiction between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang was the principal one. Since the incident,

[5] Editors: Note that he specifies "of that war," noting that the protracted people's war did not apply outside of China's conditions.

the contradiction between China and Japan has been the principal one. So it is this contradiction that must be our point of departure in understanding and solving any problem today. If we concentrate on minor matters to the neglect of the principal contradiction, seeing the trees but not the forest, we will still have no right to speak.

Therefore, in synthesizing data we should avoid getting bogged down in narrow empiricism.

3. Replies to Questions

Comrades have raised a lot of questions, and I can only answer some of them. Others cannot be answered, because if they could, there would be no need for you to go to the countryside. What is more, you yourselves must go to the rural areas and make investigations before you can understand these problems and find different solutions appropriate to different people and circumstances.

How should we hold fact finding meetings? A fact-finding meeting must not only pose questions but produce answers. It is advisable to have around three to five people at each meeting. During my survey of Xingguo I learned that 40 percent of the land was owned by landlords and 30 percent by rich peasants and that 10 percent was ancestral temple land owned in common by landlords and rich peasants, making a total of 80 percent owned by the landlords and rich peasants, while only 20 percent was owned by the middle and poor peasants. But the landlords accounted for no more than 1 percent of the population and the rich peasants for no more than 5 percent, while the poor and middle peasants accounted for 80 percent. On the one hand 6 percent of the population owned 80 percent of the land, and on the other 80 percent of the population owned only 20 percent. The only logical conclusion could be revolution. This strengthened my confidence in the revolution, my conviction that the revolution would win the sympathy and support of more than 80 percent of the people.

How should we select samples for investigation? There are three kinds: the advanced, the middle and the backward. If on the basis

of this classification you choose to investigate two or three people from each kind, you will be able to learn the conditions of them all.

How should we collect and compile material? You must do it all yourselves in order to gain experience, experience which you use to improve your work in investigating and compiling material later.

How can we make sure that the people we talk to tell the truth? People are different, and therefore you must adopt different approaches. But the main thing is to make friends with the masses and not to spy on them, which causes resentment. If a person does not tell the truth, it is because he does not know whether or not your intentions are for his benefit.

You must give him time to get to know your thinking in the course of talking and making friends with him, so that he gradually recognizes your true intentions and regards you as a real friend. Only then will you be able to find out the facts. You must blame yourself and not the masses if they do not tell you the truth.

In my investigation of Xingguo I invited several peasants for a conversation. At first they were full of misgivings, wondering what on earth I would do to them. So the first day we only had a chat about everyday matters. No smiles crossed their faces, and they did not say much.

Later I invited them to dinner, and in the evening I gave them large, warm quilts to sleep under. This helped them understand my real intentions. Gradually they began to smile and spoke up more. In the end we were all at ease. Everybody joined in lively discussions, nothing was held back and we got along so well we might have been one family.

It is not necessary to go into the other questions. It will be better for you to go down as soon as possible to make investigations yourselves.

CABLE MESSAGE OF GREETINGS FROM THE CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE TTO THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION AND RED ARMY COMMANDERS AND SOLDIERS IN HONOR OF THE 25TH RED ARMY DAY AND THE RED ARMY'S GREAT VICTORY (21 February 1942)

From: *Marxists.org*, originally in *Chieh-fang Jih-pao* (22 February 1943).

Tomorrow will be the 25th anniversary of the Red Army of the Soviet Union. The Red Army's counteroffensive has gained a crushing momentum and won unprecedented victories. All antifascist people in the world rejoice in unison, and the Chinese people feel particularly elated. The Chinese Communist Party Central Committee cabled its greetings yesterday. The text of the cable follows:

On behalf of all comrades of the party and the Chinese people, the CCP Central Committee enthusiastically celebrates the 25th anniversary of the founding of the Red Army and the great victory won by the Red Army in its counteroffensive.

After 25 years of struggle, especially after 20 months of struggle against fascist invasion, Red Army Day has developed from a day of gala celebration for the international worker masses into a day of gala celebration for all of mankind. On the basis of their own experience, all peace-loving people in the five continents unanimously recognize the Red Army and the people the Soviet Union as the bulwark against the brutal fascist force and the shock vanguard for creating a new world peace. The counteroffensive of the Red Army in the last 3 months has elicited cheers and admiration throughout the world. Everywhere in the world, people are studying the military and political lessons derived from the victory of the Red Army. The counteroffensive of the Red Army is undoubtedly unprecedented in history, and its scale and momentum are steadily increasing. The Red Army started its counteroffensive from the besieged city on the Volga

River on 19 November. Three months later the Red Army had pushed to the vicinity of the Dnieper River, 600 miles west of the Volga. It is only a matter of time until Hitler's bandit hordes are driven entirely out of Soviet territory. Since the beginning of the Red Army's war against Germany, the world situation has undergone obvious change. Now, as a result of the victory of the Red Army, the future face of the new world is clearer. All forms of fascist systems and thought have forever lost their place in the world. National freedom and political democracy have become the unshakable principles of the new world. We Chinese people welcome the advent of this new era. We welcome the unity and effort of all antifascist forces throughout the world in striving for the advent of this new era. Along with the victory of the Red Army came the significant victories of the United Kingdom and the United States in North Africa and the United States in the Pacific. The United Kingdom and the United States are actively making preparations to fulfill their promise to open a second front on the continent of Europe. The United States and the United Kingdom have abrogated their unequal treaties with China. The foremost duty of the Chinese people in this new era is to be further united and to prepare themselves to chase out the Japanese aggressors as the Red Army did with the German aggressors. We believe that because of the unification and struggle of the Chinese people, the victory of the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States, and their assistance to China, we also can turn around to launch our counteroffensive and win final victory.

Long live the Red Army and its supreme commander Stalin!

Long live the victory of the war against fascist aggressors!

Long live the unity of China, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States!

Mao Tse-tung
CCP Central Committee

LETTER FROM CHAIRMAN MAO TO CAI BO AND FOUR OTHER YOUTHS (8 January 1946)

From: *Red Flag* (Beijing) 1, no. 1 (January 1979): 13, trans. JPRS.

To young Comrades Tsai Po, Chang Chih-ming, Liu Yung-pin, Huang Ping and Chao Hsiao-yen:

I was very glad to receive your letter upon the return of Yung-fu.[6] As you said in your letter, new China will need a great number of scholars and technicians, and it's right for you to strive in that direction. Here I can write only a few brief lines, all in the hope you will become more mature day by day, be healthy and strong and happy and make progress. I also hope that you will unite with all your young Chinese friends studying in the Soviet Union and that you will all study hard so that you can come back and serve your country.

A hearty handshake for you all!

Mao Zedong
8 January 1946

[6] *Red Flag* Editor: Comrade Mao Anying.

EXCERPT FROM CLOSING SPEECH AT THE SECOND SESSION OF THE FIRST NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE CPPCC (1950)

From: *Marxists.org*, originally printed in Zhou Enlai's "Political Report to the Fourth Session of the First National Committee of the CPPCC" (4 February 1953), in *Supplement to "People's China"* (16 February 1963)

This is how our country is advancing steadily, passing through the war, through new democratic reforms and, in the future, advancing steadily and securely into the new era of Socialism, after we have a flourishing national economy and culture, after all conditions are ripe and it has been considered and endorsed by the whole nation […]

Internationally, we must firmly unite with the Soviet Union, the various People's Democracies and all the peaceful and democratic forces throughout the world, for our great aim. Here cannot be the slightest indecision or wavering on this question.

At home we must unite the various nationalities, democratic classes, democratic parties and groups, people's organisations and all the patriotic democrats and consolidate the great revolutionary united front which has been built and has won prestige.

We welcome anyone who contributes to the work of consolidating this revolutionary united front no matter who he may be—he is correct. We oppose anyone who harms the work of consolidating this revolutionary united front—he is wrong.

MAO ZEDONG TO WILLIAM Z. FOSTER (17 JANUARY 1959)

From: *Marxists.org*, originally published in *Political Affairs*

Dear Comrade Foster,

Thank you ever so much for your letter of December 19th, 1958. From your letter, full of warmth and enthusiasm, I could see the soul of the great Communist Party of the United States, and the soul of the great working class and people of the United States.

The Chinese people know that United States imperialism has done many bad things to China and to the whole world as well; they understand that only the United States ruling group is bad, while the people of the United States are very good. Among the Americans, although many of them have not yet awakened, only a tiny part are bad, the overwhelming majority are good. Friendly relations between the Chinese and American peoples will eventually break down the barriers put up by Dulles and his like and develop more extensively with each passing day.

Although the Communist Party of the United States is temporarily in a situation which is none too smooth, your struggle is highly significant and is bound to bear rich fruit. Dark night has its end. The reactionary forces of the United States are now running their heads into stone walls everywhere, which shows that they will not have too many days to live. Right now, over there in your country, the situation in which "the enemy is strong and we are weak" is entirely a temporary phenomenon. It will certainly develop in the opposite direction.

Allow me, on behalf of the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people, to extend hearty greetings to you, glorious fighter and leader of the American working class, and to wish you an early

recovery. I warmly welcome your coming to China for medical treatment and convalescence, if it is possible for you to do so.

With Communist Greetings,
Mao Zedong

MAO SPEAKS ON WORLD AFFAIRS
(21 February 1964)

From: *Presse L'Intransigeant* (21 February 1964). Trans. JPRS.

[Editors' Note: This was a report by the French press on an interview they conducted with Mao Zedong.]

Scarcely were the six men gathered in his office then Mao began an extraordinary round. "You sir," he said to M. Bettencourt, "are afraid of the atom bomb. I understand that. You are an Occidental. Moreover this professor here [this was one of Mao's experts] is also afraid of it; it is true that he is not a Communist…"

Then Mao, no doubt in an effort to set a proper atmosphere, displayed his knowledge of French culture, saying: "I've read Diderot and in fact all your encyclopedists. I even read a French author of the 18th century who wrote that remarkable book, *L'Homme Mecanique* [*The Mechanical Man*] [the six men have thus far not been able to identify who that mysterious writer was].[7] I've read Fourier. But above all I am a great admirer of Napoleon. I know every one of his works."

Mao then got back to the subject of the atom bomb: "I know that you are ahead of us in that respect. But we too shall have our own bomb. It is a means of power. That doesn't mean we're going to use it. But there are two large countries that intend to lead the world without consulting anyone else. Have they consulted General de Gaulle? The Moscow Treaty is a fraud. Those two countries must not come and shit on our heads." The interpreter was dumbfounded at this use of slang, wondering at first if he indeed had to translate literally, but Mao told him go ahead, and added: "That may shock you, but it's the truth."

Mao quickly disposed of the matter of Khrushchev. Addressing the youngest member of the delegation, M. Bernasconi,

[7] Translator's note: "Apparently the book Mao was referring to was *L'Homme Machine* (also translated as 'The Mechanical Man'), by the materialist writer, Julien Offray de La Mettrie, published in 1747."

he said: “You are the youngest. How old are you? Thirty-six? Well then, heed my prophecy well: you shall see the ruination of Khrushchev, that paper tiger.”

One third of the conversation, thus a good half-hour, was devoted to the Americans. “We are not racists. But the Americans must not remain on our territory. Everything will end up the way it did here on this land. We carried out our revolution with American arms, arms which the valets of the US had transported and delivered to us. There was 1.5 billion dollars’ worth of it. Why did they kill Diem? Why were two men eliminated? And whom did they have in mind to replace them? There too the revolution will be carried out with American weapons.”

At this the Frenchmen exclaimed: “We cannot allow you to say that about the US; it liberated us twice.” And Mao retorted: “I understand you very well. Let the Americans leave Formosa and we shall become friends.”

Mao then explained his conception of the Third World: “France can regain all of its influence in Asia. It has completed its decolonization and we know quite well that it does not want to come back here just for commercial purposes. France itself, Germany, Italy, Great Britain, provided the latter stops being the courtier of the US, Japan [he laid much stress on Japan], and we ourselves—there you have the Third World.”

As regards France, Mao is of the opinion that a clear-cut solution must be reached rapidly: “General de Gaulle is a soldier; I too am one—I served under arms for 12 years. Not one of you is a diplomat, correct? Then I can freely say, let us distrust diplomats, they are too slippery.” This was tantamount to saying, let’s exchange ambassadors as soon as possible without troubling ourselves about juridical subtleties (this was before Formosa broke with France).

At one point the Frenchmen objected: “You too will evolve as the Russians have. There already are some changes in your country. Thus we see that an article of your Constitution proclaims that the Sino-Soviet friendship is indestructible. That is scarcely 10 years old. And yet…” Mao replied: “That remains true of the Chinese and Soviet

peoples." The French then said: "But we thought that in a Communist regime the State, the people, and the Government are all one and the same." To which Mao answered: "We shall take this discussion up again later…"

A LETTER FROM COMRADE MAO ZEDONG TO COMRADE LIN BIAO (7 May 1966)

From: *Chiao-yu Ko-ming* (Beijing) 5 (10 May 1967): 1, trans. JPRS.

(Reply to the report of the Rear Services General Headquarters of the Military Committee "Concerning Advancing the Carrying Out of Subsidiary Agricultural Production by the Troops.")

Comrade Lin Biao,

I have received the Rear Services report you sent on 6 May, and I think this plan is very good. Is it possible to send copies of this report to the various military districts, and to ask people there to gather together the cadres on the army and divisional levels to discuss this together and report their opinions to the Military Committee? Then the Central Committee could be informed as to what agreement had been reached, and then appropriate directives could be issued to the whole army. Please deliberate and come to a decision on this. Under conditions in which world war has not broken out, the army should be a great school, and even under the conditions of a third world war, it is also possible for it to become such a great school. Apart from fighting, there are also various tasks that may be done. During the eight years of World War II, in every anti-Japanese base, did we not operate in this way? In this great school, one studies politics, military affairs, and culture. One can also do work in subsidiary agricultural production. It is also possible to run small or medium factories, and to produce a number of items the army needs itself, as well as products which may be bartered for other state products. It is also possible to work among the masses, and to participate in spreading the Four Purifications Movement in factories and farm communities. When the Four Purifications are completed, there is other appropriate work to be done with the masses, causing the army and the people to become one. Also, at appropriate times, the army must participate in the struggle of the Cultural Revolution, criticizing the capitalist class. In this way, the

classifications of army and students, army and peasants, army and workers, and army and people can be unified. But one must act appropriately, and there must be order in doing things. A military unit can only unite with one or two categories among peasants, workers, and people and cannot unite with all at the same time. In this way, the role played by several tons of millions of soldiers is a very great one.

In the same fashion, workers are in a similar situation. Having industrial work as their main task, they must also study military affairs, politics, and culture. They must also carry on the Four Purifications and participate in criticism of the capitalist class. In places with suitable conditions, they will also do work in subsidiary agricultural production, as is the way in the Ta-ch'ing oilfields.

Peasants have agriculture as their main task (including forestry, animal husbandry, subsidiary work, and fishing), and also must study military affairs, politics, and culture. Under suitable conditions, they also must manage small factories, on a collective basis, and must criticize the capitalist class.

Students are in a similar situation, having study as their main task, but they must also study other things not only learning, but also industrial work, agriculture, and military affairs. They must also criticize the capitalist class. The academic curriculum must be abridged. There must be a revolution in education, and the phenomenon of control of our schools by capitalist class intellectuals cannot continue.

Those in commerce and those in the professions, and those working in governmental or Party organs, in all cases where there are suitable conditions, should also act in this way.

What I have spoken of above is not something brand new. It was discovered and created many years ago, and many people have already been acting in this way. It is just that it is still not widespread. As for the troops, they are already acting in this way, but they now just must develop this more.

Mao Zedong
7 May 1966

MAO ZEDONG TO COMRADE JIANG QING
(8 July 1966)

From: *Bannedthought.net*, translation of Maoists available online.

[Editors' Note: All footnotes for this piece are from the original translator. We have removed some footnotes simply for being excessive commentary.]

Your letter from June 29th has been received. It would be best if you listened to the opinions of comrades Wei and Chen, and stay there a bit longer.[8] This month I have two appointments to receive foreign visitors. After this is completed, I will tell you my plans.

I stayed in a cave[9] in the west for over ten days after leaving Wu Lin[10] on June 15. Information wasn't so available there. On the 28th I arrived at the place of a white cloud and yellow crane.[11] It has already been ten days. Every day I look at material. It is all very interesting. From great chaos under heaven arises order under heaven. Every seven or eight years it happens again. The monsters and demons jump out on their own. Their actions are entirely determined by their own class nature, it is impossible for them not to jump out.

My friend's [Lin Biao's] speech[12]—the Central Committee is urging to publish it. And I plan to agree to publish it. His speech was

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[8] This refers to Wei Wenbo and Chen Pixian, members of the conservative revisionist camp in Shanghai. Wei was secretary of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee and secretary of the Eastern China Bureau of the CCP. Chen was the first secretary of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee and secretary of the Eastern China Bureau of the Party Central Committee, and the first political commissar of the Shanghai Garrison District Command. In 1967 they were overthrown by the masses' rebel organizations.

[9] Copies of this letter examined do not have paragraph breaks. The paragraph breaks in this translation were added by the translator.

[10] Referring to the Water-Dripping Cave (*dishui dong*) in Mao's hometown of Shaoshan, Hunan.

[11] A historical name for Hangzhou.

[12] My friend's [Lin Biao's] speech" refers to Lin Biao's so-called "Lecture on the Scriptures on the Coup d'état" at the meeting of the Politburo on May 18, 1966,

devoted specifically to the subject of coups. On this question, there has been no such talk in the past. Some of his methods always leave me unsettled.

I have never believed that those booklets of mine have that sort of magical power. Now if he praises to the sky, the whole party and country do so too. It is like Wang Po selling melons, selling them and praising them. I have been forced by them to ascend Liang Mountain.[13] It seems it won't do to disagree with them.

To agree with others on big questions despite my inclinations—this is the first time in my life [I have done so]. This is what is called something that is not determined by human will.

Ruan Ji of the Jin Dynasty objected to Liu Bang. He [Ruan] went from Luoyang to Chenggong, and proclaimed "The lack of heroes in the world allows those without ability to gain fame." Lu Xun once said the same thing about his own essays.[14] I am of the same mind as Lu Xun. I like that sort of frankness of his. He said he would dissect himself more severely than when dissecting others. After having taken several spills, I also tend to do as he did. But comrades generally don't believe [in doing so]. I am confident, but also have a certain lack of confidence.

In my youth I once said that I believed I would live 200 years, and ride the waves for 3,000 *li*.[15] I seemed to be quite arrogant. But I doubt myself, and overall believe that like in a mountain without tigers, the monkey is called a king, and I also became this sort of king. But this [contradictory assessment] is not [a form of] eclecticism. I have something of a tiger's nature, this is primary, I also have

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which focused on coups in both modern and ancient times, in China and abroad. Chairman Mao pointed out that "Lin Biao relied on the forged On Distinguishing Traitors [Bianjie Lun, a Song Dynasty Text] to start with." [Editors: The rest of the footnote is largely tertiary.]

[13] A reference to the righteous outlaws who dwell in Liang Mountain, from the Chinese classic, *Water Margin* (*Shui Hu Zhuan*).

[14] Lu Xun referenced this line in the afterword to his work *Let's Speak of the Wind and Moon*. [Editors: Removed tertiary additional material.]

[15] A reference to the philosopher Zhuangzi's tale of a mythical kun fish, that desired to see the world, and transformed into the mythical peng bird, who saw distant seas.

something of a monkey's nature, second in importance to that. I once brought forward the several lines Li Gu of the late Han Dynasty [(221–206 BC)] wrote to Huang Qiong, "What is tall is easily broken, what is pure is easily stained. Those who are able to perform the "White Snow in Spring" are quite few in number. When one is famous, it is difficult to match one's reputation." The last two phrases really refer to me.

I once read these lines at one of the meetings of the standing committee of the politburo. It is important to know oneself. In April of this year at the Hangzhou Conference, I expressed my difference with that sort of pronouncement [of Lin Biao's]. But what was the use? When he went to Beijing, at the May conference [of 1966], he still spoke that way, and the press even more fiercely so, simply exaggerating to the point of fantasy. As such, I could only ascend Liang Mountain. I guess their real intention is to use a Zhong Kui to attack ghosts, I truly have served as the Communist Party's Zhong Kui in the 60's of the 20th century.

Objects all must go towards [their] opposite side. The more the praise, the heavier the fall. I am preparing to fall and be broken to pieces. That is no worry. Matter cannot be destroyed, but it is shattered into pieces. The whole world has over 100 [communist] parties. Most of the parties don't believe in Marxism-Leninism. [These] people have also beaten Marx and Lenin into pieces, so what of us? I urge you to pay attention to this question. Do not become dizzy in your head from victory. Frequently think of your weaknesses, shortcomings, and mistakes.

I have talked with you about this question so many times that I don't know the count. You do still remember, that in April, in Shanghai this was discussed as well.

The above writing, often has what approaches black words. Do not some anti-party elements speak in just this sort of way? But they want to completely defeat our party and myself. I am but speaking in regard to my own role—about which I think there are a few formulations that are not reasonable. This is the difference between me and the black gang.

This matter can not be made public at present. The entire left and the broad masses all are speaking in this way. Making it public would pour cold water on them, and help the right. And the present task is for the entire party and country to achieve a general defeat (it can not be a complete one) of the right, and then in seven or eight years to have another movement for sweeping away the monsters and demons, and after there will for more sweeping. Therefore, these nearly black words of mine cannot be made public now. When they will be made public cannot be ascertained at present, because the left and the broad masses do not welcome this sort of talk. Perhaps on some occasion after I die, when the right comes to power, it will be made public through them. They will use this sort of method of talking of mine to attempt to forever raise the black flag. But in doing so they then will suffer.

In China, since the overthrow of the emperor in 1911, no reactionary has been able to stay in power long. The one who ruled longest (Chiang Kai-shek) did so for only 20 years, but he, too, fell once the people rose in revolt. Chiang Kai-shek climbed to power by taking advantage of Sun Yat-sen's trust in him and by running the Whampoa Academy and gathering a big bunch of reactionaries around him. As soon as he turned against the Communist Party, practically the whole landlord class and bourgeoisie came to his support. Moreover, the Communist Party was inexperienced at the time. So, he gleefully gained ascendancy for a while. In those 20 years, however, he never achieved unification. There were the war between the Nationalist and the Communist parties, the wars between the Nationalist Party and the various warlord cliques, the Sino-Japanese war and, finally, the four years of large-scale civil war, which sent him scampering off to a cluster of islands. If the Rightists stage an anti-Communist coup d'etat in China, I am sure they will know no peace either and their rule will most probably be short-lived because it will not be tolerated by the revolutionaries, who represent the interests of the people making up more than 90 per cent of the population.

This time, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, is a serious maneuver. There are some regions (for example Beijing)

where things are deep-rooted, and where things toppled within a day. In some apparatuses, (for example, Peking University, Tsinghua University), tree roots are intermixed together[16] and there was a quick collapse. Wherever the rightists are arrogant, they are defeated and then their downfall is even more miserable, and the left then gains in strength. This is a nationwide maneuver in which the left, right, and wavering unstable middle factions, all will acquire their own respective lessons. The conclusion is still the two familiar comments: The future is bright; the road is tortuous.

Mao Zedong
8 July 1966

[16] Meaning a difficult and confused situation.

MESSAGE OF GREETINGS TO THE 5TH CONGRESS OF THE PARTY OF LABOR OF ALBANIA (November 1966)

From: *Marxists.org*, originally published in *Communist and Workers' Parties and Marxist-Leninist Groups Greet the Fifth Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania, Held in Tirana from November 1 to November 8, 1966* (Tirana: Naim Frashëri Publishing House, 1966), 3–6.

Dear Comrades:

The Communist Party of China and the Chinese people send their warmest congratulations to the Fifth Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania. We wish your Congress every success!

The glorious Party of Labor of Albania headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha is firmly holding aloft the revolutionary red banner of Marxism-Leninism while encircled ring upon ring by the imperialists and the modern revisionists.

Heroic people's Albania has become a great beacon of socialism in Europe.

The revisionist leading clique of the Soviet Union, the Titoite clique of Yugoslavia and all the other cliques of renegades and scabs of various shades are mere dust heaps in comparison, while you, a lofty mountain, tower to the skies. They are flunkeys and accomplices of imperialism before which they prostrate themselves, while you are dauntless proletarian revolutionaries who dare to fight imperialism and its lackeys, fight the world's tyrannical enemies.

The Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and every other country where the modern revisionist clique is in power have either changed color or are in the process of doing so. Capitalism has been or is being restored there, and the dictatorship of the proletariat has been or is being changed into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Heroic socialist Albania has stood firm against this adverse counter-revolutionary current of revisionism. Persevering in the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist line, you have adopted a series of measures of revolutionizing

and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. Taking the path of socialism, you are building your country independently and have scored brilliant victories. You have contributed valuable experience to the history of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"We have friends in this world, we are bound close to them, no matter how far we may be, they are still our good neighbors." China and Albania are separated by thousands of mountains and rivers but our hearts are closely linked. We are your true friends and comrades and you are, likewise, our true friends and comrades. Neither we nor you are such false friends as those who have "honey on their lips and murder in their hearts," we are not double-dealers. Our militant revolutionary friendship has stood the test of violent storms.

The truth of Marxism-Leninism is on our side. The international proletariat is on our side. The oppressed nations and peoples are on our side. The masses of people who constitute over 90 per cent of the world's population are on our side. We have friends all over the world. We are not afraid of being isolated and we shall never be isolated. The handful of pathetic creatures who oppose China and Albania are doomed to failure.

We are now in a great new era of world revolution. The revolutionary upheaval in Asia, Africa and Latin America is sure to deal the whole of the old world a decisive and crushing blow. The great victories of the Vietnamese people's war against U.S. aggression and for the national salvation are convincing proof of this. The proletariat and working people of Europe, North America and Oceania are experiencing a new awakening. The U.S. imperialists and all other such parasites have already created their own grave-diggers; the day of their burial is not far off. Naturally, the road of our advance is by no means straight and smooth. Comrades, please rest assured that come what may, our two Parties and our two peoples will always be united, will always fight together and be victorious together.

Let the Parties and peoples of China and Albania unite, let the revolutionary people of the whole world unite and overthrow imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of every

country! A new world without imperialism, without capitalism and without any system of exploitation is certain to be built.

Central Committee of the Communist Party of China Chairman:
Mao Zedong

EXCERPTS FROM UNTRANSLATED WORKS OF MAO ZEDONG

From: Feng Xianzhi, "The Yanan Rectification is Comrade Mao Zedong's Great Contribution to Party Building," *Red Flag* (Beijing) 1, no. 23 (December 1983): 2–10, trans. JPRS.

They have confused the correct things as bringing forward the ability to work independently and the creativity of Marxism with erroneous things such as disobedience toward the higher level, disobedience toward the majority, disobedience toward the Central Committee, making the individual antagonistic to the party and above the party (making oneself conspicuous), and individualistic heroism (which differs from national heroism and heroism of the masses).

— "Outline for Propaganda Drafted for the Propaganda Department under the CPC Central Committee," 26 January 1942.

This[17] was a misunderstanding of the policy of leniency, resulting in benumbing oneself and making oneself muddleheaded. The party's correct policy on cadres should be: First, unity; second, criticism should be practiced when mistakes occur.

— "Speech at the Senior Cadres Conference of the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Area," November 1942.

One of the basic methods of Marxism is analysis. Criticism is to implement the method of analysis. Work is a whole, criticism means to analyze our work, to point out its merits and shortcomings, to bring forward the good, and to get rid of the bad. To make an analysis of one's work and one's own history is to practice self-criticism, and to make an analysis of others it to practice criticism of others.

[17] Editors: The neglect of applying criticism and struggle against incorrect ideas among cadres.

If one considers himself always in the right, makes no analysis of his own work, speaks only of his merits but does not touch upon his shortcomings and errors, it will be impossible for him to make progress in his work. Some comrades who have committed errors of subjectivism do not know the method of analysis. It is essential to take a modest attitude toward one's work, to understand that there is always room for improvement, and to constantly think of the fact that we have shortcomings and errors and that there is room for improvement in our work; only then is it possible for us to make progress.

— "Speech at the Senior Cadres Conference of the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Area," November 1942.

Criticism should be strict and acute, but at the same time it should be sincere, frank, and aimed at helping those criticized. Only with this attitude will it be favorable in unity. Freezing irony and burning satire are another kind of corrosive agent, which is unfavorable to unity.

— "Speech at the Yanan Forum on the Correcting of *Jiefang Ribao*," 31 March 1942.

It is necessary to thoroughly oppose subjectivism; it must be done well, and it is imperative for us to make such a determination. If the work is not done well, we will do it again; if a poor job is done the second time, we will do it a third time. To make it short, we will do the work thoroughly. If some people should oppose it, it is necessary for us to make explanations. If they are not convinced, we will make more explanations; we must make them completely convinced. To make it short, we must carry the work through to the end. We must rectify the three styles and let there be a thorough ideological change.

— "Speech Concerning the Rectification of the Three Styles," 21 April 1942.

[Feng Xianzhi] *As a result of years of concerted efforts by the whole party, the Yanan rectification achieved the purpose of changing the*

ideological condition of the whole party as Comrade Mao Zedong had expected. [Mao Zedong] "Ensuring the unanimity of the party in ideology and politics and the purity of the composing elements of party organization."

— "Speech at the Soiree Marking the 22nd Anniversary of the Founding of the CPC and the 6th Anniversary of the War of Resistance Against Japan," 1 July 1943.

[Summing up importance of Yanan rectification] We did not win victory either in the northern expedition war or the agrarian revolutionary war. This was because, objectively, the strength of imperialism and the KMT was powerful and, subjectively, it was because we were not spiritually prepared, we were muddleheaded, and there were mistakes in our policies.

At present, regarding the objective conditions at home and abroad, there is the possibility of our winning victory. The question is that we should be spiritually prepared. The rectification in recent years is to make spiritual preparation for the victory, to prepare the CPC for the nationwide victory.

— "Speech at the Central Party School," 25 February 1945